

A

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.



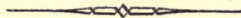
A
HISTORY OF THE CHURCH
IN SCOTLAND

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO
THE PRESENT DAY.

BY

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P R E F A C E.

IN this volume an endeavour has been made to render a comprehensive account of ecclesiastical and religious movements in Scotland from the original planting of Christianity down to the close of the nineteenth century. Avoiding as far as possible details of civil history, attention has been given to Acts of Parliament and contrivances of statesmen only in so far as these have affected the interests of the Church in regard to its government and constitution. In so wide a field it is perhaps too much to expect that the attempt to maintain a fair proportion in the narrative, and strict impartiality of statement, has been altogether successful. But the author has not intentionally passed over anything that should have been told to the credit of any of the denominations that have existed or may yet exist in the Scottish ecclesiastical world; and he has sought to deal faithfully and generously with the memories of the great men who in all the various divisions of the Church in Scotland have contributed to the theological literature and to the religious life of the country.

It has been to the writer an unfeigned pleasure to be able to close his history with a record of a great Church union, and he trusts that he may have the opportunity granted him ere long of adding the story of a union still more comprehensive and complete.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

PORTOBELLO, February, 1901.

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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

*Early Days—Ninian to Columba and the Celtic Church.**

A.D. 400—1050.

THE Romans entered Scotland in A.D. 80, and found there a people rude and wild in their mode of life, yet with institutions of a political, social, and religious kind which marked them off from the class of untutored savages. What the religious faith of the inhabitants of North Britain was, it is quite impossible to tell. There is absolutely nothing to suggest the notion that the Druidism described by Cæsar as the prevailing religion of Gaul and of the parts of Britain with which he was acquainted, was known and practised in the northern portion of the island. It is scarcely a probable conjecture that at this early date the Scandinavian mythology had found a footing among the people inhabiting the country which we now call Scotland. We may, however, assume that with a warlike race, like the ancient inhabitants

* Literature : Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, Edin. 1887, Vol. II. ; Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, Edin. 1861, I. 1-187 ; Maclauchlan, *Early Scottish Church*, Edin. 1865, 1-320 ; Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, Edin. 1882, I. 1-66 ; Bellesheim, *History of Catholic Church of Scotland*, Edin. 1887, I. 1-239 ; Adamnan, *Life of Columba*, ed. by Reeves, Dubl. 1887. Also, in *Historians of Scotland : Lives of Ninian and Kentigern, and Adamnan's Life of Columba*, 2 vols., Edin. 1874. For General History : Dr. Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, Cambr. 1899, vol. I., pp. 1-55.

of North Britain, their religious notions and practices would in many points resemble those of the Gauls and of the Norsemen, though probably their gods had names and genealogies, and moral and physical characteristics peculiar to themselves.

Agricola. Agricola's movements in the North were in the interests of the Roman colony in the South. In order to put a stop to the raids of the independent tribes of which the Roman colonists were being constantly harassed, the general in his capacity as governor and statesman pushed his way with his troops as far as the Firths of the Forth and the Clyde, and erected between the two a line of forts, by means of which he thought to prevent the northern tribes from pillaging the more fertile south, and threatening the lives of those who had settled down in peace under the pledge and promise of imperial protection. This conquest was but temporary, for, some forty years later, Hadrian was content to fortify from the Tyne to the Solway, abandoning the territory which he could not hold, the inhabitants of which had never been really subdued. In A.D. 140, Sollius Urbicus, the captain of Antoninus Pius, seemed to accomplish what Agricola had attempted. But when, in the beginning of the third century, the Emperor Septimius Severus made a punitive expedition against certain peaceful tribes, which had defied the Roman power, and pushed his way as far north as the Moray Firth, he managed only to keep the road open for his return, but was so persistently attacked by sudden onslaughts from the woods and hill sides that, though he found no enemy with whom he could engage in a pitched battle, he is said in that march to have lost as many as fifty thousand men. The numerous independent tribes north of the Firths were now apparently combined into two great nations, the Maeatae living immediately north of the wall, occupying the lower lands, as their name implies, and the Caledonians, whose territory lay further to the North. Throughout the whole of the third century, Britain was left very much to itself, and the northern tribes generally, now known by the common name of Picts, em-

bracing those living between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, as well as those living beyond the northern wall, aided by Scots from the West or by Saxons from the East, ravaged the Roman province and slaughtered its inhabitants at their will. In three campaigns, in A.D. 368 under Theodosius, and in A.D. 396 and A.D. 406 under Stilicho, assistance was given to the wretched provincials, but on each occasion as soon as the campaign was over the situation of the Romanized Britons was as bad as ever. The conquest of Rome by Alaric and his Gothic warriors in A.D. 410, ended the Roman occupation of Britain, and the inhabitants of the north and of the south were left to settle for themselves their relations to one another as best they could.

Though for three hundred years the Romans were more or less in North Britain, the country was never really theirs. Sometimes they were out of it entirely, but even when they held for a time the southern half—the part between the walls—it was at best but a military occupation, and the inhabitants of that district, when left to themselves, always joined with the independent northern tribes in harrying the provincials of the south, never seemingly regarding themselves as their fellow provincials under the same imperial rule. Absolutely nothing remains to indicate any particular influence exerted upon the native races by the Romans during their occupation. No Scottish place name is of undoubted Roman origin. A few remains of what must have been intended as permanent camps, such as those at Ardoch in Perthshire, and at Birrens in Dumfriesshire, and some traces of temporary encampments, and here and there a few coins and common utensils, tell only of the presence of the army, and not of any moral or civilizing influence which the residence of the Romans in the country might have wrought upon the people. But apart from any direct particular proof, a comparison, even on the basis of the scanty reports which we possess, of the condition of the native inhabitants in the end of the first and in the end of the third centuries, will show us that such a people as the Romans could not be in the land without influencing to some extent their institu-

tions and their habits. The presence of a common enemy must have led the separate tribes hitherto hostile to one another to combine for the purpose of self-defence. Negotiations for such a union, consideration of each other's opinions and the deliberation necessary in order to come to an agreement, and consultation and planning in view of joint action, must have proved very important means of culture, and must have very effectively promoted that consolidation of the tribes into a nation, which is the result of an elementary civilization, and the indispensable condition of any advance to the higher stages of culture. It is a mere supposition, but by no means an improbable one, that during those years there may have been among the natives of North Britain some converts to Christianity. It can scarcely be doubted that Christian men would be found in the ranks of the legions which, for a longer or shorter period, were resident among the tribes north of the province. We know how zealous these Christian soldiers proved in other countries in preaching to the people with whom they came in contact, and we cannot suppose that Christian legionaries in Britain would be less earnest and active in the propagating of their faith. It is more than likely that among Roman settlers in the province of Britain and among Romanised natives, there may have been a considerable number of avowed and faithful followers of Christ. But what success Christian soldiers and Christian provincials may have had in converting any of the Northerners, whose whole interest was in war, and that against both soldiers and provincials, we cannot tell, only it can scarcely be expected that it ever was very great. When the Romans left Britain in A.D. 410, no doubt North Britons had heard the name of Christ, but those who professed that name, if any did so, must have been very few, and their reputation and influence very small.

Until late in the fourth century, we have no information whatever of the religious condition of Britain; but, though left here to conjecture, we may be sure that the beliefs and worship of those who may have been more or less influenced by the Christian life and teaching of Roman soldiers or con-

verted provincials must have been of a very simple and undeveloped kind. No outstanding man seems to have arisen in these communities, who, by his strong individuality and by the warm enthusiasm of an intense nature, might have commended the new faith to his fellow-countrymen. And so we may very well suppose that, wanting any one central authority, any person looked up to for guidance in thought and life, whose utterances and example would mould the forms of belief and the religious ritual, many irregularities would be allowed to creep into their practice and much crudeness of expression show itself in their presentation of Christian truth.

Ninian is commonly spoken of as the earliest Scottish missionary, and this designation is correct, if we understand by the phrase the first whose name and story have come down to us. He was born somewhere about A.D. 360. Our primary authority with regard to Ninian is the Venerable Bede, who wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* exactly three hundred years after the death of the early Scottish missionary. His notice of Ninian is very brief, introduced parenthetically in his account of the mission of Columba, more than a hundred and fifty years later. While Columba went to preach to the Northern Picts, Ninian had evangelized the Southern Picts. Bede rather inaccurately ascribes to Ninian the conversion of these Southern Picts, affirming that under his preaching they forsook idolatry and embraced the truth. He describes Ninian as a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation, who had been instructed in Rome, and who founded an episcopal see, dedicating his church to St. Martin of Tours. This church was called the White House, Whitherne or *Candida Casa*, because built of stone, and not of wattles, as was customary among the Britons. Ailred, writing in the twelfth century, considerably amplifies this statement, but in all probability had no authorities except Bede and his own somewhat exuberant imagination.

It would seem that Ninian was by descent a Briton, his parents being natives of North Wales, though he himself

was born in the valley of the Solway. He is represented by tradition as of noble birth, his father being an officer in the Roman army. It is evident that his parents were Christians, and that from his earliest childhood he was trained up in the Christian faith. We have no report as to his early years, but it would seem that as a youth he resolved to devote himself to the work of the church as a missionary in the immediate neighbourhood of his native district. With the intention of qualifying himself for this task, and obtaining the rank and authority necessary for its successful prosecution, he went to Rome. This visit was made in all probability during the period when Siricius was Pope—that is to say, not earlier than A.D. 385. If he went as early as this, it would seem that he must have spent at least ten or twelve years in the holy city. We can quite understand that, brought up as he had been among a very simple race, in a region so isolated as to be little influenced by the educational and ecclesiastical institutions of the age, the young Briton stood in need of instruction in the very elements of church doctrine, government, and worship. Siricius was a powerful ruler, and his ecclesiastical polity was pronouncedly high, and there can be no doubt that Ninian would be taught to yield absolute submission to the teaching of the Holy See, and would be required to pledge himself to bring the doctrine and practice of the British Christians into strict conformity with that which he had learned in Rome. Before leaving to return to his native land to engage in his lifework, he received from the Pope episcopal ordination. He does not seem to have been consecrated as bishop of any strictly-defined district or diocese, but to have had conferred upon him episcopal authority in any part of the country where he might be led to carry on his missionary labours. On his homeward journey he went out of his way to visit St. Martin of Tours. This great bishop was undoubtedly the most celebrated ecclesiastic of the West, his fame resting mainly on the reputation which he had obtained as a worker of miracles. His personal piety was everywhere acknowledged, and the devoutness and

reverence which characterised his conduct all through life gave him the first place among the counsellors of the more ardent youths who were consecrating themselves to God's service.

Ninian's visit to St. Martin of Tours supplies us with one of the few dates by which we can fix the period of this great missionary's ministry. It would seem that immediately after this visit, which was evidently of brief duration, Ninian proceeded to Galloway to begin there his regular evangelistic labours. One of his first works was the building of the church at Whithorn, with which his name has ever since been so closely associated. Before this building was completed, Ninian received the news of the death of St. Martin, and he accordingly dedicated the church in memory of the great miracle-working saint. The death of St. Martin took place on the eleventh of November, A.D. 397, a day which, under the name of Martinmas, has been fixed as one of the quarterly terms in Scotland. The missionary labours of Ninian in Galloway are thus made to begin in the closing years of the fourth century. He was thus the younger contemporary of Jerome, the older contemporary of his fellow-Briton Pelagius, while his life almost exactly synchronizes with that of the great Augustine.

The people among whom Ninian began to labour were a branch of the Pictish nation which had settled on the northern bank of the Solway. They had proved violent and troublesome neighbours to the British tribes inhabiting the north of England. To distinguish them from the Pictish tribes of the north, they were called by early Roman writers *Novantæ*, and by later writers *Niduari*, as occupying the district round about the Nith. That these Picts were spread over all the parts of Scotland south of the Forth appears from the presence of their name in that of the Pentland Hills. But the tribes with which Ninian, at least primarily, had to do dwelt between the Nith on the east and the Irish Channel on the west—the district being, generally speaking, coextensive with the present counties of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown.

Ninian, we may believe, had a very useful and pleasant ministry among the people round about the church which he had built; and not only his careful teaching of Scripture, but also his gentle and godly life, must have powerfully influenced the community favoured with his presence. But besides this, his labours as a teacher were very fruitful. He gathered around him a company of monks, some of them trained under Martin of Tours, who, under his direction, devoted themselves to the education of young men; and his monastery long maintained its fame as a seminary for training in the knowledge of the holy scriptures, and of theological studies, as understood and pursued in those days. He made good use of his leisure, especially in the later years of his life, in writing commentaries on several books of the Bible, and in compiling books of extracts from the writings of the Fathers for the use of his students.

The labours of Ninian were by no means confined to the district with which his name has been more immediately associated. As we have seen, Pictish tribes were at this period to be found scattered over all the region which stretched from the one Roman wall to the other, and we have traces all through this extensive country of Ninian's presence and evangelistic activity. Notwithstanding the building of the northern wall by Antoninus, on the assumption that the barbarians who refused to be subject to the Romans were all outside of it, there is no doubt that, in the later years of the fourth century, either by incursions from the north, or by revolt among those who had previously given in their submission, there were large numbers of barbarians, in the Roman sense, violently hostile to the Romans, and determined to resist and reject all Roman institutions and usages, within the district bounded on the north by that wall. At the period of Ninian's mission, too, the Roman authority in Britain was already far down towards its decline. By A.D. 410 all the Roman legionaries had been withdrawn from Britain. The whole country was in a state of confusion, and this must account for the obliteration of almost all definite traces of localities and churches in which

Ninian did the work of a pioneer. During his missionary travels in Strathclyde, Ninian consecrated a cemetery on the site now occupied by Glasgow Cathedral. When Kentigern came to that district, about a century and a half later, he found the name of Ninian still associated with the burying-ground, and held in highest reverence.

From these missionary tours Ninian returned to his own quiet monastery. Here he continued the work with which he had begun his noble apostolic career. From his seminary he sent out young preachers, who carried on the work of evangelization in their master's spirit, and inspired by his example. And there at last, full of years and worn out by his self-denying labours, he passed away to enter on a better and a higher life. His death took place on the sixteenth of September, A.D. 432.

For somewhere about thirty-five years this great missionary was enabled to continue his work among the people to whose conversion and upbuilding in the faith he had consecrated his life. On the foundation laid by him, later workers—Palladius, Ternan, Servan, Kentigern, Columba—carried on the work which has now grown into the church of God in Scotland as we see it at this day. Although the incidents of Ninian's life have completely passed from view, yet surely that man deserves to be held in remembrance, who shed light as he did on his own generation, and sowed seeds the harvest of which labourers who followed him were allowed to reap.

It is difficult to speak with anything like confidence of the followers of Ninian. Most of them are names to us and little more. Even in regard to the periods in which they lived and the consequent relation which the life and mission of one bore to the life and mission of another, there is much confusion and uncertainty in the scanty records which have come down to us in the form of traditionary legends. The earliest Christian individual born in what we now call Scotland, whose name and story have been transmitted to us, is Patrick, son of a local councillor under the Roman rule (*decurio*), stationed at Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton. Patrick

was born somewhere about A.D. 372. His parents were Christians, and at baptism he received the name of Succat, Patrick being the name which he assumed when he was ordained. But although of Scottish birth and nationality, his life and work lay not in Scotland but in Ireland. The story of his life, therefore, does not concern us here, only we must note that, even when he began his missionary career in Ireland, there was already a considerable Christian community in that country, just as his own birth of Christian parents in Scotland told of the existence of a Christian community in that land.

After seven years of servitude in Ireland, Patrick escaped and went to Gaul, where he is supposed to have remained with Germanus of Auxerre for over thirty years. His Irish mission proper began in A.D. 433, but already in A.D. 431 Germanus had sent his archdeacon Palladius, consecrated by the Pope as a missionary bishop to Ireland. Palladius was in all probability a Gaul, and no doubt this would be regarded as fitting him in a very special way for his work among a Celtic race. It is now almost unanimously admitted that the Scots among whom Palladius ministered were the Scots of Ireland, that his success among them was small and that he was soon driven away to Britain. Local tradition in the Mearns maintains that the seat of his ministerial activity was Fordoun, and the memory of this tradition is preserved by the attaching of the name of Paldy to a well in the neighbourhood and to the annual fair of the district. The associating of the name of Palladius with Fordoun, however, may have arisen from the fact that the church founded here about the fifth century bore his name. But the church may have been so designated simply because it was founded by some disciple of Palladius or by some one who had taken that saint as his patron. Had this legend prevailed in Argyleshire, where at that time there undoubtedly was a colony of Dalriad Scots, we might have claimed Palladius as a missionary to our country, but as the Mearns was undoubtedly inhabited not by Scots but by

Picts, we can only conclude that Palladius has no claim to be regarded as a Scottish missionary.

If there has been confusion with regard to the locality in which Palladius conducted his mission, a no less serious confusion prevails as to the date of the life and labours of St. Servan or St. Serf. So inexplicable does the confusion seem, that several distinguished antiquarian scholars in their despair have maintained the necessity for assuming the existence of two saints of the same name, whose stories got inextricably mixed up together. His whole active life is connected with Culross, in a portion of Perthshire lying on the northern bank of the Forth. He has been popularly associated with Palladius, who is said to have sent him on a mission to instruct the ignorant and savage people of the Orkney Islands. The legend which connects him with Lochleven assumes that he lived in the time of Adamnan towards the close of the seventh century, Adamnan and Germanus being represented as joint-founders of the monastery, or at least of the colony of hermits at that place. The only St. Serf that can reasonably claim a place in Scottish Church History is the fifth century missionary of Culross, who, though not associated with Palladius in a ministry in the East of Scotland, may very well have been a disciple of the older saint, carrying his master's work and name into regions which he himself had never visited. In his later days he seems to have lived the life of a hermit, and to have died at Culross in extreme old age.

When already a very old man, Servan found upon the shore near his hermit residence, a frail boat or scallop, containing a young infant, whom he reared tenderly and trained with assiduous care. The child was said to be of princely parentage, and was named by Servan Kentigern, which means "chief lord," but also Mungo, a term of endearment, meaning apparently "my dear." The young disciple made remarkable progress under his saintly and kindly master, whom, however, he left when he had come to man's estate, moving westward through Stirling till he came to a place which is now called Glasgow. The name of Ninian, as we

have seen, still lingered there in connection with a cemetery which he had consecrated, and we may suppose that Kentigern would find there a small Christian community as a living witness to the spiritual work which the older saint had performed. He was consecrated bishop in his twenty-fifth year, and the date generally accepted is A.D. 540. He spent a great part of his time in training young men for the service of God, and in travelling throughout the wide district of Strathclyde preaching the gospel and teaching the principles of the faith to those who had lapsed into error or fallen into sin. According to a prevalent tradition, Kentigern was driven out of Strathclyde by the temporary triumph of the pagan party in A.D. 543, when he retired into Wales, founding a great monastery at what is now St. Asaph, and continuing his laborious work there for a period of about thirty years. At last, in A.D. 573, the overthrow of his heathen persecutors in Strathclyde allowed him to return to his own proper diocese. For a period of eight years, however, after leaving Wales, his residence was at Hoddam in Dumfries, and not till A.D. 581 did he return to his old home in Glasgow on the banks of the Mollendinar Burn, near where the noble cathedral now stands. Here the famous meeting took place between Mungo and his slightly younger contemporary Columba, the distinguished and saintly abbot of Iona. The work on which these two great men had been engaged was very much the same, and we can imagine the warm interest which each would take in the story which the other had to tell. St. Mungo lived to a good old age, probably about eighty-four years, and died in A.D. 603.

This brings us to the greatest, and certainly the best known of all the early Scottish saints, Columba or Columcille. It was among the Scots of Ulster that Columba was born. His birthplace was Gartan in the wilds of Donegal, not far from Letterkenny, somewhat over twenty miles to the west of Londonderry. The most probable date of his birth is 7th December, A.D. 521. His father belonged to the distinguished Dalriad family which reigned in Ireland

and the West of Scotland, while his mother was descended from the kings of Leinster. Both parents were Christians, as were the Scots generally, converted by Patrick a century earlier. The child was baptised under the name of Colum. He was sent to the school at Moville in County Down, near Newtonards, where he had as his teacher the famous St. Finnian. In this seminary he remained several years, and there he received ordination as deacon. Our knowledge of this period of his life is derived from the biography written by the most celebrated of all his successors in Iona, Adamnan, who wrote in A.D. 697, exactly one hundred years after Columba's death. A glance at Adamnan's *Life of Columba* is instructive as showing the radical difference between a mediæval biography and a memoir of modern times. From a biographer we naturally expect a systematic narrative of the youth, manhood, and age of the individual whose story is to be told. But this was by no means the conception of his duty entertained by the monkish historian of the lives of the saints. For dates he had a profound contempt, and the chronological arrangement of his materials had not the remotest interest for him. A modern life of St. Columba might be divided thus:—1, His birth and early youth; 2, his education; 3, his work in Ireland; 4, his settlement in Iona, etc. But not so Adamnan. His three books observe no order of time, but are entitled respectively:—Of his prophetic revelations; of his miraculous powers; of his visions of angels. And he begins his story, not with an account of Columba's birth, but with the enumeration of miracles wrought before King Brude at Inverness, when Columba was already forty-three years old. It is indeed extremely provoking to find an intelligent and accomplished writer like Adamnan, who was immediately and personally associated with Columba, and who must therefore have been familiar with all the leading facts of the great missionary's life, scorning to put these on record, which we would so heartily appreciate, and unweariedly recording miracles, prophecies, and visions, which we well could want. Yet from the mass of incredibles we gather here and there some-

thing reliable, and altogether Adamnan's work is one of the most respectable of that class to which it belongs.

In A.D. 544 the community residing in a monastery near Dublin, of which he had been an inmate, was broken up by a devastating plague, and then he moved northward again, and in A.D. 546 founded the church of Londonderry. From this time onward for fifteen years he continued to labour unweariedly up and down throughout his native district. The closing years of this period are of special interest as showing us the reasons which led him to leave his native land and to seek a new home and a new sphere of labour upon our Scottish shores. During these years Columba had deeply involved himself in more than one bloody feud. It would seem indeed to be beyond dispute that, at least upon three different occasions, Columba was the cause of immense bloodshed and of devastating wars, and that, though one of these occurred a few years before his departure from Ireland, the other two happened in the closing days of his residence in his native country, showing that his earlier experience of the miseries of war did not suffice to make him forsake the use of carnal weapons, or the disputes which led to their use. Finnian of Moville, who belonged to the domain of Diarmid, a prince who had already offended Columba by disregarding his right of sanctuary, had in his possession a beautiful Psalter which Columba, who was a skilful penman and a lover of fine manuscripts, had copied without its owner's permission. Finnian resented Columba's conduct, and claimed as rightfully his the copy that had been made. The decision was referred to Diarmid, who gave sentence thus: that as to any cow belongs its calf, so to any book belongs its copy. This was regarded as a *casus belli* by the irascible clansmen, and Columba, instead of seeking to compose the difference, inflamed the quarrel, and urged on the bloody conflict which it would rather have become the minister of Christ to stay. Moved by remorseful feelings, when he beheld the sad results of his unholy passion, rather than driven forth, as some authorities would have it, by the censure of

his church, Columba imposed upon himself a voluntary exile from the land where his conduct had made men doubt how they should regard him, whether as the warrior or as the priest.

In A.D. 563 Columba sailed from Ireland in order to undertake the arduous and hazardous task of preaching Christ among the Picts of North Britain. It was customary with churchmen founding monasteries and with missionaries starting a great enterprize for the conversion of a kingdom or a province, to associate with themselves twelve like-minded companions or disciples, after the example of their divine Master. Columba, therefore, chose twelve men to be with him, some of them relations of his own, all of them well known to him as capable and reliable, a goodly band to bear the hardships and the dangers of their new vocation. They sailed from Loch Foyle in one of those primitive vessels, which to modern eyes would seem much too frail for even a quiet ferry traffic. The curragh was constructed of wicker work covered with hides, and was used by the hardy seamen of those days for long voyages out on the open sea. In such a vessel Columba and his twelve companions embarked, and steered their course for the capital of the Irish King in Britain. The Irish or Dalriad Scots had now held possession of what we call Argyleshire for a period of about sixty years. These Scots, whether by conquest, or with the permission of the sparse native population, had, during the first half of the sixth century, secured a wide territory extending as far north as Ballachulish on Loch Leven, and going so far west as to include part of Morven, Mull, and the island of Iona. The reigning princes were kinsmen of Columba. They were professedly Christians and had Christian priests of a sort, but their pagan surroundings and their isolation from their co-religionists had exercised a corrupting and debasing influence upon them. Just three years before Columba undertook his mission, King Brude of Inverness felt strong enough to endeavour to reclaim what his predecessor had lost, and in battle in A.D. 560 completely defeated the Scots and slew their king, so that under the

Scottish prince who succeeded their territories were narrowed down to Kintyre and Cowal. As a churchman and a Scot, Columba sought to stem the onward rush of paganism, which would inevitably follow the victories of the Picts. His first residence was with King Conall, at a place lying somewhere about what is now the western end of the Crinan Canal. But so soon as he had thoroughly informed himself as to the position of affairs, he chose for his permanent dwelling-place the little island of Iona, from which the Scottish settlers must have been driven out by the Pictish army, while, owing to its remoteness and insignificance, no new colony of the conquerors had as yet taken possession. This island lay upon the very frontier, and no more suitable spot could have been chosen by one who had in view the execution of the twofold task of pastoral work among the Christian Scots and aggressive missionary work among the pagan Picts. I or Hy, as the little island was then called, is about three and a half miles in length and one and a half in breadth, and though on the first glance not imposing, it is found on closer inspection wonderfully rich in varied beauty. Besides the advantage of a frontier position, it afforded the hardy and skilful boatmen who followed Columba easy access to a number of large inhabited islands, the churches of which could be superintended from the central foundation established there. The erection of the necessary buildings was no doubt immediately proceeded with. These were of the simplest description. Within a rude enclosure the church and the wooden huts of the missionaries were put up, while the kitchen, refectory, and lodging house for strangers were probably built of wattles daubed with clay. No traces of the Columban structures have survived the wreck and wear of centuries. The ruins now visited are those of the Benedictine Abbey of the beginning of the thirteenth century.

No sooner had Columba secured a settlement in his island home, than he proceeded to carry out his plans for the conversion of King Brude, upon the success of which the fate of his undertaking in large measure depended. The journey that lay before him was in those days peculiarly difficult and

dangerous. Partly by sea and partly by land, over stormy sounds and firths, and across wild and wooded and mountainous country with scarcely a track to guide them, these daring Christian adventurers had to travel a distance of at least one hundred and fifty miles. At every step they were in danger of falling into the hands of hostile and savage tribes, that would show no mercy and give no quarter. Nevertheless, they reached in safety the capital of Brude, some miles west of the present Inverness, at the end of Loch Ness. Here, too, Columba had to encounter difficulties of no ordinary kind. Tradition, as recorded by Adamnan, describes King Brude as surrounded by his Druid priests, skilled in the black arts, and prepared to engage in a life and death struggle with the missionary of the cross. The king, too, partly influenced by the arguments of his priests, and partly prejudiced against anything coming from the kinsman of his foes, refused to open his gates to Columba, who, nothing daunted, after singing of psalms and prayer, made the sign of the Cross, and walked into the city unhindered, as Peter once walked out of prison. This miracle naturally made a deep impression on the mind of the king, and after Columba had fairly baffled and outwitted the Druid magicians in several encounters, the king was converted, and the people, as people did in those good old times, obediently followed their chief.

Of the followers of Columba who carried on the work begun by their master and founded churches in influential centres in the north, the one whose name is now most widely known is Machar, the patron saint of Aberdeen. He was sent out on his mission by Columba with twelve companions, and told to travel on until he should find a river describing in its windings the figure of a bishop's staff. This description seemed to him to be fulfilled in the River Don, and there, near the river's mouth, he built a church on the spot now occupied by St. Machar's church in Old Aberdeen.

The early success gained by Columba and his disciples seems to show that heathenism had been already losing its hold upon the people. The instruction of the Druids had ceased

to satisfy. They had been in the habit of teaching their scholars how to distinguish lucky and unlucky days, the significance and value of dreams, the power of their gods to bring on rain and darkness and storm, and, by the use of magical arts, the secret of which they carefully concealed, they struck such terror in the hearts of their pupils as secured their reverential obedience for all time to come. When these men were encountered by Christian apostolic missionaries like Columba, they were not charged with imposture and made ridiculous by exposure. It was rather assumed that their miracles were real but diabolical, that their gods were not nonentities but demons, and that, therefore, their proceedings could not be ignored, their incantations treated as old wives' tales, but that they must be counteracted by the immediate interposition of the true God and his holy angels. And thus the Celtic missionaries contributed to the survival of superstition among their converts, in whose eyes Christ was made to appear as the great Druid, who had outwitted and overmastered the Druids of the ancient faith.

Meanwhile Columba continued to consolidate and develop his monastic establishment at Iona. The life of the monks within the settlement was primitive and simple. The daily religious services occupied a considerable part of their time, and the better educated among them applied themselves diligently to the copying of books of scripture, service books for the church and writings of the Fathers. Careful attention was given to the cultivation of the land. They led their cows to the pasture, and carried home the milk in skin bottles or wooden pails. The level stretch of land on the west of the island they tilled and sowed, and in harvest time they carried home the sheaves on their backs, and ground the corn in the mill which they had built outside the enclosure that sheltered and protected their huts. Their dress was rough in texture and simple in form, and their shoes of untanned skins were put aside when they gathered in to their meals. The Columbites, too, were skilful boatmen, and constructed for their own use vessels

of all sorts for various purposes. The curragh was the favourite for lengthy voyages, but boats of wood were built for carrying cargoes of timber and other bulky commodities when these were required. The mode of life prevailing in Iona was pre-eminently social, monastic simplicity of fare, but no monastic obliviousness to the dictate of common-sense that union is strength. Though each had his separate hut to which he retired at night, they wrought together, ate together, and went forth together on their evangelistic missions. The more devout among them often felt the need of longer and more complete retirement for seasons of meditation and prayer than the arrangement of their institution afforded, and so we hear of voyages undertaken in search of solitudes and deserts. In Rona, forty miles north of Lewis, in the Flannen Isles, far out to the west, Ronan and Flann found suitable retreats, and in later times, isolated little islets in Orkney obtained from a tradition of such temporary visits the name of Papa. In these remote spots they erected little huts in which they knelt at their devotions, and on these hallowed spots small oratories were afterwards built for the accommodation of those who thought to be made holy by visiting spots where holy men had been.

But these holy men of Iona did not isolate themselves, even for a season, with purely selfish intentions or for personal ends. They sought to become more holy in prospect of some arduous work which they had projected. When they returned from their seclusion, they were strengthened and emboldened to engage upon daring and hazardous enterprises from which they might otherwise have shrunk. And Columba was ever ready to use his influence among the Pictish chiefs, so as to secure for his followers a favourable reception in the more distant districts. One of the most venturous of all the Columbites was Cormac, who received the designation of the navigator. Moved by a strong desire to find some uninhabited island on which he might live for a time a hermit life, he, on the fourth attempt, animated by a pure desire, made a long voyage in the northern seas

to seek first a quiet retreat, and then from it to go forth to spread among the heathen the knowledge of Christ. After he had started, Columba happened to meet at the court of Brude an Orcadian chief, and he made this request of the king:—"Some of our brethren have lately set sail and are anxious to discover a desert in the pathless sea; should they happen, after many wanderings, to come to the Orcadian islands, do thou carefully instruct this chief, whose hostages are in thy hand, that no evil befall them in his dominions." And so it happened by Columba's wise politic arrangement that Cormac was treated with respect and received with favour.

The incessant war that was urged between hostile neighbouring clans and rival nations broke up once again the recently-formed and still feeble Christian communities. Undaunted by such disappointment, Columba and his followers persevered in their work. Monasteries were founded in Tyree, the Garveloch islands, Lismore, Kingarth in Bute, and in Eigg, during Columba's lifetime. In the north two companions of Columba founded the churches of Mortlach, Rosemarkie, and Kildonan. The unhappy feuds, which Brude's conversion did not by any means bring to an end, though they did not prevent the heroic missionaries from planting churches in remote regions where the influence of the distant king was overshadowed by that of the present local chief, led in several recorded cases, and we may suppose in many more unrecorded, to individual martyrdoms and wholesale massacres. Donnan was a younger contemporary of Columba, who in his missionary enthusiasm resolved to make a settlement in the island of Eigg, in sight of Iona, but at least forty or fifty miles to the north, and quite within the region of the wild robber tribes of the north-western highlands. He and his company took up their abode in a place where the sheep of the queen of the country were kept. This was told the queen. "Let them be killed," said she. "That would not be a religious act," said her people. But they were murderously assailed. At this time the priest was at mass. "Let us have respite

till mass is ended," said Donnan. "Thou shalt have it," said they. And when it was over they were slain every one of them. Now this took place on the 17th April, A.D. 617. But Donnan had asked Columba's blessing on his way to Eigg somewhere about A.D. 570, so that his labours in Eigg and neighbourhood must have extended over forty-five years, and the fifty-two companions, who met martyrdom along with the saint, represented the fruit of his labours in that district.

Such were the men who accompanied Columba and received impulse from him, and such was the work that they did. He was himself the moving spirit of the whole enterprize, all through life a man of action as well as a man of prayer, and like the great missionary Apostle "in journeyings oft." He seems to have very frequently visited King Brude in his northern capital and to have exercised a powerful and wholesome influence over that mighty chief. In A.D. 584 Brude died, after a prosperous and useful reign of thirty years. For twenty-two years the king had been a Christian, and during all that time Columba was his most trusted counsellor. It might seem disastrous that such a prop should be removed, but, like many seeming disasters, it eventually turned out for the furtherance of the gospel. The succession passed to a prince of the Southern Picts, who had his principal residence at Abernethy, near Perth. The Christianity of the Picts around the Tay, originally introduced by Ninian, had by this time well-nigh disappeared, and now Columba found a new mission field on the death of his patron Brude at the court of his successor, Gartnaidh of Abernethy. The ancient chronicles of the Picts and Scots speak of Columba as the teacher of tribes around the Tay, and the founder of the churches there among the Southern Picts. Two years previously, on the death of Conall, a powerful king was consecrated by Columba in Iona, Aidan, who became the mightiest and most important of all the Scottish kings. Under these two very capable monarchs, the Columbites had unrestricted access to all Scotland north of the Forth and the Clyde, and Iona was

the ecclesiastical capital for all this extensive region. But even south of this, among the Britons of south-west Scotland, we find traces of Columba's influence, and it is more than probable that the saint who visited Kentigern or Mungo at Glasgow and sent missionary teachers to the Isle of Man, was not himself by any means a stranger among the churches, or Christian communities, throughout the region now called Ayrshire and Galloway. Thus were the closing years of Columba's life filled up with long fatiguing journeys, heroic missionary enterprises, and unwearied and incessant preaching of the Cross, and, even in his island home, he took no rest, for there lay upon him ever a burden from which only death would free him—the care of all the churches.

Columba seems to have been a man of a strong robust constitution, for we never hear of illnesses interfering with his apostolic labours. He had begun his Scottish work in his forty-second year, and not till A.D. 593, when he was seventy-two years of age, do we find any indication of bodily infirmity. During that year he was visited with sore trouble, and in his own poetic style he tells us that the angels had been sent to bear his spirit hence, but had their services postponed for five years. In common prose, a severe sickness had brought him to the gates of death. The end came at last, and the saint was ready. He sat in his cell copying the psalter. He had reached the thirty-fourth Psalm, and wrote "They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing." He stopped there, knowing that his work was done, and said—"I think I can write no more, let Baithen write what follows." He retired for the night to his couch, a bare flag with a pillow of stone. The midnight bell called him to prayers, and before the rest of the brethren he entered the dark church, and lay down upon the stone floor in front of the altar. There in the darkness he was found by his companions, and in their arms he breathed forth his spirit, after he had raised his hands in blessing over those whom he was leaving behind.

Thus, on the 9th of June, A.D. 597, passed away a saint

and hero to whom, more perhaps than to any other single individual, we are indebted for the wide dissemination of the Christian faith and of the principles of Christian culture in our land. His character has been variously estimated, because there was in it that unusual combination of qualities that made him, at one and the same time, and by one and the same individuals, loved and feared. His natural disposition was warm and passionate; born to command, he was impatient of contradiction, and, resolute of purpose, he would allow no obstacle to interfere with the achievement of that which he had determined to do. But self was never in his thoughts. He aimed not at self-aggrandizement. He sought no kingdom, though he anointed kings. He visited king's courts, but he took from them no treasure nor patent of noble rank. The only recompense which he desired was the winning of souls for Christ; and in the devoted lives of missionaries trained by him in his island seminary, and in the triumphs which they won, he had his reward. For two centuries at least, Iona continued to be the great religious and educational centre for Scotland, and from it went forth those who spread the love of learning and the knowledge of gospel truth, even in other lands. Kings, bishops, priests, and missionaries, received their training there, and won the inspiration of their lives from the memory of the holy man who, in the institution for which he toiled, even when he was dead was heard still speaking. The horrors of invasion and the barbarities of civil war did much to overlay the work of God's servant; but the seed sown still holds the soil, and Scotland is what she is today because Columba, the saint and hero, lived and wrought upon her shores. Not the Celtic Church only, but much rather the Scottish Church, can justly claim him as her own.

The church of Columba was purely monastic, and in its constitution it was precisely the same as the parent church in Ireland. The head of the establishment was the Abbot who, though a simple Presbyter, exercised supreme authority within the institution. The arrangement, however it may

have originated, was quite anomalous, and does not by any means afford a pattern for an Episcopal or for a Presbyterian system. In the Celtic or Columban monasteries there were bishops, that is, among the monkish brethren there was at least one who had received Episcopal consecration. The Episcopal order was recognised as an order superior to that of the Presbyter, but only in the discharge of functions proper to that order. Ordination was a function which the bishop alone could discharge, and in the celebration of the eucharist we find Columba giving precedence to a bishop so soon as his rank was discovered. But in other respects the jurisdiction of the Abbot was supreme, and in other matters the bishop was in no way distinguished from his brother monks.

The two special points on which Columba and his followers, in common with the Celtic Church, were in essential conflict with the Roman teaching and practice, seem to have been those of the manner of the clerical tonsure and of the time for the observance of the Easter festival.

In regard to the clerical tonsure, the Celtic Church followed what was called the tonsure of St. John or St. James, although by its opponents, who wished to brand it as heretical, it was sometimes called the tonsure of Simon Magus. The practice of distinguishing members of the clerical orders from mere laymen by the shaving of the head was not generally introduced before the sixth century. Before this the shaving of the head had been enjoined upon penitents as a token of humility, and in the same symbolical sense had been gradually adopted by monks. In the early years of the sixth century, however, the tonsure had become a distinguishing mark of the clergy throughout the whole church. Though the practice was universal, the form and shape which it took was not uniform. Down to the eighth century there were three different shapes in which the tonsure was made. We have the Roman usage, called the tonsure of St. Peter or the *corona*, according to which the top of the head was shaved, leaving a complete circle of hair

around the shaven portion. We have also the Greek tonsure, or that of St. Paul, according to which all the front part of the head was completely shaven. And further we have the tonsure of St. John, according to which the forehead was shaved back to a line stretching from ear to ear. In the Irish and Scottish churches, this last form of the tonsure was almost universally adopted in the sixth century. Abbot Ceolfrid of Jarrow, writing to Nectan, king of the Picts, in A.D. 710, tells how Adamnan, in A.D. 688, had been convinced that his Celtic tonsure was wrong, so that he adopted the Roman style and commended it to all whom he could influence. Gradually the old form was abandoned, and by the middle of the eighth century the Roman practice was almost universally adopted.

In regard to the Scottish mode of calculating the time for the observance of Easter, Columba simply brought with him to Iona the practice of the church in which he had been reared. The Irish Church had received from its first missionary teachers the calculation of the date of Easter made on the basis of the eighty-four year cycle which the old Roman Church had adopted from the Jewish practice. It was not till at least thirty years after St. Patrick had begun his mission in Ireland that Pope Hilary, in A.D. 463, introduced the calculation of the date of Easter according to a new cycle of five hundred and thirty-two years. We may well suppose that for a long period the Christians of Ireland were unaware of any difference between the Roman practice and their own, and that, when they had their attention called to it, they preferred to hold by the primitive practice rather than adopt what must have seemed a needless and unwarrantable innovation. In those times papal authority was not so absolute as afterwards it became, and determined conservators of early usages could maintain before an innovating Pope that the old was better. So far as we know, it was not until the arrival of Augustine in England about A.D. 600, that the question about the differences between the British Churches and Rome in the observing of Easter was raised. When representatives of

the Irish Church were investigating the matter at Rome in A.D. 631, it was found that the Iro-Scottish calculation was exactly four weeks in advance of that of Rome. The Columban monks keenly opposed the Roman practice, which, by the middle of the seventh century, had been generally accepted in the southern province of Ireland and also in the Irish mission in Northumbria. In A.D. 664, at the Conference of Whitby, Wilfrid, as the representative of Rome against Colman, the champion of the Columban practice, won a favourable judgment from the king, and Colman returned to Ireland, where, as well as in Scotland, the old Celtic usage in the observance of Easter was continued for half-a-century more. One community after another submitted, until at last, in A.D. 716, the monks of Iona themselves gave way, and uniformity in practice among the united Scots and Picts was at length secured. Only in Strathclyde did the people continue attached to the old Celtic rites, while on the wild hordes of Galloway the influence of the Christian religion was even yet very slight.

Columba's immediate successor was Baithen, his own cousin, and one of the twelve disciples who had accompanied him from Ireland. It was to him that the dying saint committed the finishing of his transcription of the Psalter on which he was working when death overtook him. He ruled the community of Iona for three years, and died on the anniversary of the death of Columba, in A.D. 600. The seventh abbot was Cummen the Fair, who came from Ireland to the monastery of Iona during the presidency of his uncle, Segine, and succeeded Suibhne in the abbacy in A.D. 657. He wrote the first biography of Columba, and died in A.D. 669. The most distinguished of all Columba's successors was the ninth Abbot, Adamnan, a native of Donegal, and of the same family as Columba. He went to Iona about the same time as Cummen. After serving, with a great reputation for piety and ability, under four successive Abbots, he was himself raised to the presidency in A.D. 679. On two occasions he went to the court of Aldfrid of Northumbria on important missions, and on the

second occasion, in A.D. 688, convinced by the arguments of Ceolfrid of Jarrow, he renounced the peculiarities of the Celtic church, and gave in his personal adhesion to the faith of the Roman church. He failed, however, to obtain the assent of the Columban monks either in Ireland or in Iona, and after paying lengthened visits to Ireland, he died in his own monastery, A.D. 704. He was regarded as one of the most learned and accomplished men of his time. He wrote at least two works, which have been received with favour: 1. *De Locis Sanctis*, the main facts having been derived from a Gallican bishop, Arculf, who had himself, in A.D. 690, visited the holy places; and 2. *The Life of St. Columba*, one of the most valuable of the memoirs of the saints that we possess, written by him between A.D. 692 and 697, on the basis of Cummen's life, and other memoirs and traditions which were within his reach.

In A.D. 802 the Northmen burned the ecclesiastical building of Iona, and returning four years later they slew sixty-eight of the inhabitants of the island. The churchmen of Iona were already one with the church of Rome in their rites and observances. As there was no longer the same prestige attaching to this remote island, and as it was now exposed to hostile attacks, the proposal of King Constantine I. to remove the religious capital and ecclesiastical centre for the kingdom of the united Scots and Picts from Iona to Dunkeld was regarded generally as a measure of prudence, and awakened little opposition. Some thirty or forty years later, in A.D. 851, Kenneth, the King of the Picts, transferred the relics of Columba to Dunkeld. The Columban clergy had been driven out of Pictland by Nectan, nearly a century and a half before, and the ban was now removed by the foundation of Dunkeld, whose abbot was placed at the head of the Pictish church.

The constitution of the Columban church had by this time been greatly changed. Not only had the successors of Columba abandoned the peculiar practices of the Celtic church with regard to the tonsure and the calculation of the date of Easter, but the bishop was now given the first place

which previously had been assigned to the abbot. Tuathal, abbot of Dunkeld, who died in A.D. 865, was the first bishop of Fortrenn, that is, of the southern half of the kingdom of the Picts. During the interval between A.D. 865 and A.D. 906, Skene supposes that the primacy was transferred from Dunkeld to Abernethy, and that there were three bishops of Abernethy who in succession held the primacy before the erection of the bishopric of St. Andrews in the latter year. What is certain in regard to this is, that during the interval between the death of Tuathal and the appearance of a bishop of St. Andrews, the abbacy of Dunkeld had fallen into the hands of lay proprietors, so that as early as A.D. 873, the abbot is designated *princeps Dunkeldi*, and in the beginning of the eleventh century, we find Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, a great landowner, and a territorial magnate, in possession of large tracts of country in Athol and elsewhere, marrying a daughter of the king and seeing his own son placed on the throne. In A.D. 906, we hear of Cellach as bishop of St. Andrews, or bishop of Alban, which bishopric continued for a time to be the only one in Scotland, and in all subsequent periods continued to be the seat of the primate of the Scottish church.

In the lifetime of Columba, and afterwards, throughout the whole period of the Columban supremacy, we find one member of the monastic institution after another retiring for a longer or shorter space of time into solitude for meditation and prayer, and the discipline of the spiritual life. In those quiet retreats the Columban monks, who usually lived a communal and social life in their village-like monastic establishments, imitated the earlier saints whose legendary memoirs they had read, and applied to themselves the ascetic rules and practised the austerities which had rendered those saintly solitaries famous to all ages. In this way they came to entertain a fondness for such a career, and in consequence many of them withdrew from the monasteries to live permanently by themselves in isolated cells. Then Culdees, Keledei, *cultores dei*, worshippers or friends of God, made their appearance after the Columban

clergy had been expelled by King Nectan from the land of the Picts. It is said, indeed, in the Chartulary of St. Andrews, that Brude, the King of the Picts, who died in A.D. 706, gave the isle in Lochleven to the omnipotent God, and to St. Servanus, and to the Keledei hermits dwelling there, who are serving, and shall serve God in that island. We can only suppose that it speaks of the gift to St. Serf on the assumption that he lived at the beginning of the eighth century, and that in later years Culdee hermits occupied the place which at an earlier date had been given to him. Those who were originally solitaries, living in rude cells remote from human habitations, came in time to form communities and monastic establishments, such as those at Lochleven, at Deer, and at St. Andrews. Ultimately they were brought under the canonical rule of the secular clergy. Being now scarcely distinguishable from secular canons, it was an easy matter for those princes who were determined upon the Romanizing of the Scottish church to find positions for the Culdee monks in the Cathedral chapters, and to have them all merged in the one hierarchical system under the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishop. After three centuries of useful service to the church and nation, the Culdees as a class had lost their fervour and spirituality, and so they gave way before an organization wrought by men of warm enthusiasm and fresh energies, just as the Columban monks had yielded place to them. Each had its own mission to fulfil, each had its own contribution to the up-building of the church and religion of the land to make—Columban, Culdee, Catholic of the regular hierarchial type. The church in Scotland of to-day is all the richer for the reflection in it of all that is good in each of those various types.

CHAPTER II.

*Romanizing Reforms and Earliest Preaching of the Reformed Doctrines.**

A.D. 1050—1433.

A NEW era in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland begins with the accession of Malcolm III., usually called Canmore or Bighead, in A.D. 1057. The influence of the Celtic church had long been on the wane. The want of sufficient organization, and consequent indolence and indifference on the part of the officials and ordinary representatives of the church throughout the country, had lessened everywhere the respect and reverence in which all ecclesiastical persons and institutions had previously been held. The appropriation of the Abbey revenues by powerful and rapacious laymen had impoverished the church treasury to such an extent that the priors, who took the place of the old abbots, had, in many cases, only a bare and somewhat precarious living. It would seem that the degenerate church was past being restored from within. The very elements essential to a strong church, that would command the respect and obedience of a nation, were no longer existing in the church of the Culdees.

* Turgot, *Vita S. Margarete. Life of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland*, translated by W. Forbes Leith: Edinburgh, 1834. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*: Edinburgh, 1887, II. 344-418; see also I. 411-497. Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*: Edinburgh, 1861, I. 188-371. Maclauchlan, *Early Scottish Church*: Edinburgh, 1865, pp. 320-441. Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*: Edinburgh, 1887, I. 240-373; II. 1-70. Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*: I. 66-137. For the general history of the period: Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, I. 56-220.

During the earlier years of Malcolm's reign influences were at work which, without the violent overthrow of the old and the sudden introduction of practices and orders altogether new, such as we find in periods that are usually styled revolutionary, led to the ultimate displacement of institutions that no longer served their purpose, and the gradual establishment of an ecclesiastical organization better suited to the requirements of the country and the age. For many years Malcolm had been resident at the court of Edward the Confessor. This king, a pious man but a weak ruler, was largely under the influence of Norman adventurers, and during his reign of over twenty years, the rivalry and antagonism of Saxon and Norman within the Southern kingdom became exceedingly bitter, and their relations to one another more and more strained. The Scottish prince must have been impressed, on the one hand, with the personal devoutness of the king, and, on the other, by the discipline and order which characterized the organization of the English church, and the effect which this had in furthering the interests of civil government. When he entered upon his kingdom, on the defeat and death of the usurper, he soon showed how powerfully these influences had told upon him by his profession of personal faith and of interest in the matters of religion and worship, and by his vigorous endeavour to reconstruct the ecclesiastical institutions of his country after the model of that church in which he had grown up. It may well be supposed that Malcolm's sympathies must all along have been with the Saxons rather than with the Norman aggressors. An early opportunity was given him of showing kindness to those among whom he had found refuge and a home. Within a year of Edward's death, the Normans, to whom he had been only too favourable, overthrew his brother-in-law and successor, Harold, in the decisive battle of Hastings, and at once began to treat the Saxon inhabitants of England as a conquered race. Flying from the oppression of their conquerors many of the Saxon nobility, as well as the braver and more independent of spirit among the people, betook

themselves to the northern parts of England, where the more powerful barons were in sympathy and interest attached to the cause of the dispossessed and persecuted. It was evidently good policy on the part of Malcolm to cultivate friendship with these, and to support every endeavour to detach them from allegiance to the Conqueror. On five different occasions Malcolm invaded and plundered the northern districts of England, and while in this he was instigated undoubtedly to some extent by a desire for plunder, the deeper policy which underlay all such ruthless raiding was the endeavour to convince the rulers and inhabitants of these regions that it would be wise for them to seek his protection and associate themselves in closer friendship with him. Even during the earlier portion of his reign, in the later years of Edward's life, considerable numbers of Saxon refugees had found their way across the Scottish border, and several had found a residence at the court of the Scottish King. In A.D. 1068, Agatha, the widow of Edward Atheling, with her children, Edgar, Margaret, and Christina, along with several of the most distinguished of the Saxon nobles who had been resident in Northumbria, sought Malcolm's protection, and were received with honour and affection by the king. In the spring of A.D. 1069 Malcolm was married to Margaret at Dunfermline. He thus became allied to the royal house of the Saxons, and obtained as his consort one who was to prove a most efficient co-adjutor in his work of social and ecclesiastical reform.

Malcolm and Margaret reigned jointly for a period of nearly twenty-five years, and each possessed very high qualities, which were freely and wisely exercised in the service of church and state. In treatises on Scottish church history it has been too common to attribute to the Queen the introduction of all the social and ecclesiastical reforms that were made in Scotland during this age, and to represent Malcolm as making no pretension to the understanding of these things, but as simply acquiescing in them and hasting to carry them out for the love that he bore to

his devout and talented consort. This is certainly the impression left upon reading Turgot's life of his royal mistress; but it is evident that the estimate of the Queen's confessor, written by order of her daughter, must be taken with some reservation and abatement. From the part played by Malcolm in the civil and political development of the nation, it is clear that he was a strong man, who did his own thinking, and must have been convinced of the wisdom and justice of measures to which he gave his sanction. Nor was he the man, from what we otherwise know of him, to leave altogether in the hands of another, even if the other were his own beloved wife, the solution of problems of church government or organization, which, he very well knew, were most intimately and vitally associated with questions of civil government, and the economical and social advancement of his people. At the same time, we may well believe that academical discussions with the churchmen were altogether outside of the province of a prince who could not even read, and that consequently, even in matters which interested him personally and in regard to which he had himself formed an intelligent and positive opinion, he looked to his more highly cultured partner to give them a more accurate and correct expression. It should also be noted that Margaret was by no means the guileless, unworldly saint that her monkish biographer represents her to be. She was, unquestionably, a woman of great personal devoutness, and was characterised throughout her whole life by a passionate love for the practice of a severe ascetical piety; but she was, at the same time, a high-spirited, ambitious woman, who could enter into all the political schemes and patriotic enterprises of her husband. As a member of the dispossessed royal line of the Saxons, her sympathies were thoroughly with her husband in his unceasing opposition to all English encroachments on his southern frontier, while as representative of the higher and wider culture to which the southern kingdom had attained, she did much to soften the harshness, and even savagery, that marked many of the prevailing customs of the north

in war and peace. Her Anglicizing, therefore, of manners and institutions was not of the unpatriotic sort which it might have been had she been a princess of the reigning Norman house. In matters of church and state alike, the policy of King and Queen seems to have been the same. Their domestic life, and generally their relations with one another, were simply perfect, and their example must have done at least as much as their statutes for the advancement of civilization and the humanizing of manners throughout the land.

In A.D. 1063, some six years before his marriage, Malcolm showed his interest in the establishment and spread of the Christian faith throughout his kingdom by the founding of the church and monastery of Mortlach, in the province of Moray. This northern district had been ruled by powerful chiefs, who maintained practical independence of the Scottish kings. It was only in the later years of his reign that Malcolm succeeded in finally crushing the power of these territorial magnates, who were often even styled kings of Moray, and in bringing the province really within the limits of his kingdom and into subjection to his laws. The establishment at so early a date of a Scottish bishopric in the midst of this lawless district shows that even at this period, before he had come under the influence of, or even had personal acquaintance with, the Saxon princess Margaret, Malcolm had already decided upon the line of policy which all through his life he steadily pursued. The foundation at Mortlach seems to have been something more than a Culdee college, and something less than a diocesan bishopric in the full Roman sense. It marks the transition character of the age. However, when, some sixty years later, the bishopric of Aberdeen was founded by David, the monastery of Mortlach and the lands attached to it were included in the possessions secured to the new see, and no authentic reference to the bishopric of Mortlach has come down to us to show, whether it had simply ceased to exist, or had been transferred to the new episcopal see.

The Culdee establishments were still the recipients of

valuable grants from the King and from many of the wealthier territorial nobles. Monasteries, some of them very ancient, some of them of a comparatively recent foundation, continued to flourish at Iona, Abernethy, Dunkeld, Deer, Turriff, Brechin, St. Andrews, and Loch Leven. The members of these ecclesiastical houses were Scottish monks, many of whom were distinguished for the pastoral fidelity and energy which characterized the immediate disciples of Columba, while among them were to be found all the teachers of youth which Scotland in those ages possessed. Thus, undoubtedly, many individual monks, and, in certain districts, all the members of the ecclesiastical community, were endeared to the people among whom they lived by the pious and useful lives they led, by their kindness to the poor, their assiduity in training the children, and their concern for the spiritual well-being of all. But along with much that was excellent in the character and conduct of these monks, there were clearly in the constitution and practices of the Columban church elements of weakness, which called for the immediate introduction of large measures of reform, and the exercise of a firm control in discipline and organization. Although a certain primacy was ascribed, first to the abbot, and, in later times, to the bishop presiding over the leading ecclesiastical establishment, successively in Iona, Abernethy, and St. Andrews, it was, in regard to most of the religious houses, merely nominal, and the head of each monastery conducted his house on principles, lax or severe, determined by his own individual disposition and personal views. In some places practices were allowed to creep in which in others were vehemently condemned and strictly forbidden, and there was no one rule binding and applied universally. These scattered monastic institutions, therefore, were not so much representatives of the one Catholic church as congregational societies independent of any effective central control. That occasionally at least some of those communities became secularized in their mode of life to such an extent as to lose the sympathy and confidence of the more devout and religious

among them, would seem to be a reasonable conclusion from the fact that grants, such as that of an island in Loch Leven, are found to have been from time to time given to Culdee hermits. Some of the abbots had grown into powerful territorial magnates, with a large retinue of trained warriors among their dependents—chiefs with whom the King found it necessary to come to terms, with whom they associated as with persons of princely rank, and with whom they formed marriage alliances. To men with anything of the spirit of St. Ninian, St. Mungo, or St. Columba, the state of things indicated by such worldly ambitions and political and martial activities must have been utterly intolerable. What, perhaps more than anything else, led to this abandonment of religious functions and devotion to secular pursuits, was the prevalence of the practice of hereditary transmission of the headship of the principal monasteries, so that in such institutions as those of Dunkeld, St. Andrews, etc., son succeeded to father in the abbacy and other offices from generation to generation. This, certainly, was one evil result of an attempt to combine two incompatible ideas in one organization, a married clergy and a collegiate or monastic institution. Utterly pernicious as the prescription of the celibacy of the clergy is, it is evident that the monastic system cannot be worked without it. Whatever advantages might attach to the collegiate establishment of the Culdees when presided over by apostolic and saintly men, these disappear when succession to office is made to depend upon a birth qualification. The door was opened wide for all manner of corruptions when one with no call to or fitness for the clerical life might be given, by right of primogeniture, the presidency of what was, at least nominally, a great religious house.

In presence of all this, the desire of the Queen to bring about uniformity of practice in all the churches and religious institutions of her adopted country, and her thought that this would be best secured by introducing and enforcing the rules that had prevailed in the church in which she herself had been reared, were very natural. But

after all, the matters on which, according to the report of her biographer, she succeeded after elaborate discussion in effecting a unifying change are few, and not of supreme importance. The Scottish ecclesiastics in their observance of Lent followed the old custom of beginning the fast on Monday, and including in their reckoning of the forty days the Sundays, though on these days they did not fast. Our Lord's forty days' fast was evidently continuous, and the Scottish practice, as those observing it contended, was in harmony with the divine example. The Queen, however, insisted upon their conforming to the custom which then prevailed in the Roman Church, according to which Lent began on the Wednesday previous to the Monday with which the Scottish churchmen had been wont to begin. The second point to which she called attention was the desecration of the Lord's Day by the carrying of burdens and the doing of servile work. Dr. Skene explains what at first sight seems a very extraordinary state of matters in so primitive a community, and in part much more like the lax practices prevailing in Romish communities to-day, by showing that the Scotch probably followed a custom of which traces are found in the monastic church of Ireland, according to which Saturday was regarded as the day of rest, and Sunday as the day on which the resurrection was celebrated by service in the church. The third particular in which the Queen took offence at the practice of the Scottish Church was the abstaining from communion on Easter Day, which evidently resulted from a superstitious regard for the day, as though eating and drinking unworthily on that day more than any other would bring condemnation upon them. She very properly insisted that what was needed was due preparation by the confession of sins, fasting and prayer. But besides this, the queen had observed that in some places the eucharist was celebrated "with barbarous rites," which she determined to have everywhere abolished. What rites these were is not clear, but the suggestion of Dr. Skene is highly probable that the reference cannot be to the introduction of any peculiar forms

or ceremonies, but rather to the use, in the more remote districts, of the language of the country, and not of Latin, which was now in universal use throughout the church. Besides this, her biographer assures us, many other reforms were introduced and abuses suppressed by the energetic and zealous queen. Some of the objectionable customs, however, which she put a stop to, such as marriage with a step-mother or with a deceased brother's wife, seem to have been irregularities which never had received church sanction. But all the while there were undoubtedly other abuses prevailing of a very much more serious description than those to which reference have been made, in regard to which her hands were so tied that it was evidently beyond her power even to attempt to correct them. Her own position and family connections prevented her from venturing upon the removal of those crying abuses of hereditary succession to ecclesiastical offices and lay appropriation of church benefices. Her husband was himself the grandson of Crinan, the warrior abbot of Dunkeld, and to this abbacy one of her own sons in his early boyhood had succeeded. Perhaps the queen's own personal life of piety, with its exaggerated asceticism, and the feverish anxiety which it showed in the accumulation of works of merit in almsgiving, serving of the poor, and pilgrimages to the retreats of saintly hermits, did more than any of her formal discussions and legislative measures for the introduction of doctrines and usages into Scotland such as had not been known there before. The practices recommended by her own religious life were all those of Rome brought to England by Augustine as contrasted with the more primitive customs of the Scottish Church.

All the sons of Margaret who occupied successively the throne exhibited their mother's love for the church, while they were for the most part in a position to grant more liberal endowments and to carry out in detail the unifying reforms of which she had made a very small beginning. Under Alexander I. we meet with the earliest introduction into Scotland of clearly defined and unmistakable diocesan

Episcopacy. For about two centuries there had been Culdee bishops in St. Andrews; but they were not bishops of the diocese of St. Andrews, but simply bishops of the Scots. In A.D. 1107, however, the king appointed to the see of St. Andrews, Turgot, the English Confessor and confidential adviser of his mother, under whose influence her principal reforms had been carried out and the course of her religious life directed. For six years the first bishop continued to occupy his seat, but it was a time of conflict and discord between bishop and king. Trouble arose at the very beginning over the question of the bishop's consecration. The Archbishop of York maintained that his primacy extended over Scotland, but Alexander felt that to admit this claim would be to go a long way towards admitting the claim for homage so often and in so irritating a way advanced by the English king. At length, in A.D. 1109, Turgot was consecrated by the Archbishop of York, but it was expressly and emphatically stated that it was to form no precedent, so as to effect the rights either of York or of St. Andrews. The position of the new bishop was by no means a pleasant one. Of an alien race, and the first representative of a new order, he had to encounter the opposition of the local clergy—at least their want of sympathy and confidence, if not their active and organized hostility. At the same time the king, to whom he owed his elevation, was jealously watchful of every sort of hierarchical assumption on the bishop's part, which might possibly prove prejudicial to the rights of the throne and of the people. Before coming to Scotland as Queen Margaret's Confessor, and all through the period of his residence at the royal court, Turgot held the rank of a simple monk of St. Cuthbert's monastery in Durham. He seems to have retained a strong affection for the old monastery, and to have cherished a warm affection for his brethren who remained there. And so we find that, after holding his Scottish bishopric for some six years, and feeling himself still among strangers, he resolved to pay a visit to his old friends and to seek their advice on matters that were troubling him. He never returned to

St. Andrews, but died in Durham on 31st August, A.D. 1115. The see now remained vacant for a period of five years. The Scottish king, wishing to rid himself of the pretensions of York, at once applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury asking him to aid him in obtaining a new bishop, and declaring that the bishops of St. Andrews should have consecration from Canterbury or the Pope, and not from York. Only after five years, in A.D. 1120, did the Archbishop, in answer to a further appeal from the Scottish king, send one of his monks, Eadmer, a man of character and learning, but most conscientiously devoted to the interests, and a zealous vindicator of the privileges, of the English primacy. Submitting at first to accept the ring from the hands of the king and to take up the pastoral staff from the altar in presence of the other two Scottish bishops, who had been appointed by Alexander, the bishops of Moray and Dunkeld, he soon began to scruple about the question of consecration, and at last asked leave of the king to return to Canterbury to obtain counsel from the archbishop. This the king angrily refused. After consulting various authorities, some of whom advised him to repudiate the English claims, whether of Canterbury or of York, and to assert his independence as the primate of an independent country, while others counselled him to retire, as reconciliation with the king was hopeless without the renunciation of the legitimate claims of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Eadmer returned the ring to the monarch, laid down the staff upon the altar, and thus, demitting his Episcopal rank and office, went back to Canterbury as a simple monk. When, eighteen months later, he repented of his hasty conduct and wrote to the king, offering to resume his ecclesiastical functions, the king refused to listen to him, although his request was supported by the archbishop. Eadmer died in 1124. During the incumbency of these first two bishops, the episcopal authority was evidently little more than nominal. In Moray the unsettled condition of the district prevented the titular bishop from exercising any real personal authority, and though Gregory, the first incumbent,

was appointed as early as 1115, it was not till 1203 that the sixth bishop for the first time secured a regular episcopal residence within the limits of his diocese. In Dunkeld the rich revenues of the powerful lay abbots seem to have been abundantly sufficient for the founding of the bishopric with its full equipment, and these had probably passed into the hands of the crown on the death of Ethelred, the king's brother, who had held the abbacy. Thus was Alexander at once able to establish the bishopric in place of the old primatial abbacy of Dunkeld. A very important step in the ecclesiastical organization of the country was taken by the king when, in 1116, he founded at Iona a priory of Canons Regular of St. Augustine, and, in later years, other priories for the same black canons in the diocese of Dunkeld and on the island of Inchcolm. On the death of Eadmer, Alexander bestowed the bishopric of St. Andrews on Robert, the prior of the monastery at Iona, and in the same year gave a grant to the see of the lands called *The Boar's Chase*, which had belonged to the older Culdee clergy. The king died at Stirling on the 24th April, 1124, and was succeeded on the throne by his brother David.

On the death of his brother Edgar in 1107 David, with the title of Earl, received possession of the Scottish territory south of the Forth and Clyde, with the exception of the district round about Edinburgh, which, together with all the country north of the firths, were under the sway of Alexander. In 1115 he appointed John, his tutor, bishop of Glasgow, applying to the support of the see all the lands that had belonged to the successors of St. Kentigern or Mungo, and putting under the jurisdiction of the bishop all the churches and foundations that had previously been under authority to them. The diocese as then marked out extended from the Clyde to the Solway, and eastward as far as the western border of Lothian. In later years the bishopric of Ross was founded, and in 1137 the bishopric of Aberdeen, with a wide jurisdiction extending from the Dee to the Spey. David had inherited in a much larger measure than Alexander his mother's love of the church and interest

in its organization. We find in him also the two-sided character which was so conspicuously present in Margaret. During his long reign of thirty years, he showed himself a vigorous ruler, an ambitious and not too scrupulous politician, and a warrior who at least availed himself of the services of cruel and ruthless marauders. On the other hand, his grants to the church were liberal beyond anything that had ever been seen in Scotland before. The churches throughout the land were grouped under the jurisdiction of bishops, and in every considerable district well endowed religious houses, with monks transferred from some of the best ecclesiastical institutions of England and France, were established as centres of religious instruction and of civilizing influences, which told more than any other agency could have done on the consolidation of the nation. The abbeys of Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, Dryburgh, Newbottle, Holyrood, Cambuskenneth, and Kinloss were all founded by this generous supporter of the church; and besides Glasgow, Ross, and Aberdeen, he established the bishoprics of Caithness, Brechin, and Dunblane, and added to the endowments of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Moray. The see of Galloway was still claimed as an Anglic bishopric under the Archbishop of York, and the bishop of Orkney still acknowledged his dependence on the archbishop of Drontheim. Not till 1471 were these Episcopal sees of the furthest north and the furthest south formally and organically attached to the Scottish church. The bishop of the Isles was also under Drontheim till 1430, when his see was united with the abbacy of Iona. The bishopric of Argyll was founded about 1200 out of the dioceses of the Isles and Dunkeld.

The example thus set by King David was followed by many of his wealthier nobles, so that in Scotland, before the end of the twelfth century, there were founded or re-established no less than twelve bishoprics, including Galloway, Argyll and the Isles, but not Orkney, seventeen abbeys, five priories, and various smaller ecclesiastical institutions. This represented a complete change in the organizations of the

Scottish churches. Before the close of David's reign in 1153 the last remnant of the Culdee church as a separate and distinct organization had disappeared, and the lands, wealth, and foundations belonging to them had been distributed among the new episcopal and conventual establishments. In some respects, no doubt, the prelates and other dignitaries introduced by David compared unfavourably with apostolic men such as St. Ninian, St. Mungo, St. Columba, and others, founders of the early Scottish church, as the majority of the monks and friars in the Anglicized-Romanized church of Scotland did with the zealous missionaries of the old Columbite church. In certain parts of the country, at least, the contrast was painfully evident to the common people. Too many of the higher ecclesiastics were mere worldlings, mere self-seeking politicians, grasping, greedy, and ambitious, while a large number of the rank and file of the monastic orders which swarmed over the country, were vicious, ignorant, and indolent. But for generations, if not for centuries, the Columbite church had been declining. It was out of touch with the church catholic, and the older and purer faith, which in some articles it still maintained in theory, was held as a mere tradition, powerless to affect or influence the life of the people. And, notwithstanding its many doctrinal corruptions, and often notorious inconsistencies in the life and practice of its official representatives, the church of England and Rome was alive and moving, so that the introduction of its organization and its agents into Scotland by the king must be ranked as a genuine reformation, which constituted an important step onward in the civil and spiritual development of the nation. In the lavish abundance of his gifts, however, the king unwittingly sowed the seeds which produced in time for the church which he meant to favour a very bitter harvest. The ecclesiastical endowments in Scotland at the close of David's reign, in the middle of the twelfth century, were out of all proportion to the civil and industrial revenues of the country. By and by, the nobles, who had vied with the king in enriching cathedral chapters and

monastic foundations, came to look with covetous eyes on ecclesiastical corporations which had grown rich in the generations during which they had grown poor. With the common people King David's clergy never found much favour. They were heavily burdened for their support, and this, no doubt, largely contributed to intensify the dislike they naturally felt toward incomers, with whose interests and modes of thought they had little in common. And thus the way was gradually prepared for the singular combination of the people and the barons against king and church which brought about the great movement in favour of civil and religious liberty which culminated in the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Throughout the period that has now been described, the division of the country into parishes was gradually taking place. It was brought about in this way. A noble or gentlemen owning a estate, regarding himself charged with the spiritual care of those living upon it, appointed a priest to discharge religious duties on their behalf, erected a church, and marked off a portion of ground as a burying-place. The district served by this church and priest was called a parish, and in the earliest times commonly coincided in extent with the boundaries of the landlord's property. From time to time, as pieces were added to the laird's possessions, these, whether apart from the old or contiguous, would be added to the parish. But more frequently those parishes which had originally been very large came to be subdivided, either on these being split up into smaller estates, or in consequence of the increase of population in certain parts of the original parish. The parish priests were appointed by the owner of the land which formed the parish, and their endowments consisted in the tithes of the revenue derived from the soil. Naturally, the parochial clergy were subject to the bishop within whose diocese their parishes lay. If this simple arrangement had been allowed to continue, it would probably have proved in a large measure an effective means of christianizing and civilizing the rude population, and the parish clergy, through their

alliance with the landed estate, would have opposed the rapacity and resisted the proud claims of the higher clergy of an alien race. Very soon, however, the parochial system was interfered with and encroached upon by the monastic institutions which came to enjoy ever increasing favour throughout the land. When a nobleman wished to add to the revenues of a Monastery or Abbey, he found it an easy and inexpensive expedient to attach to that institution one or more of the parishes under his patronage. When a new Abbey was erected, sometimes the whole or nearly the whole of the endowments necessary for its maintenance would be secured by appropriating the revenues of a sufficient number of parishes. In A.D. 1178, William the Lion founded the Abbey of Arbroath, dedicated to St. Thomas a Becket, and he provided its endowment by attaching it to no fewer than thirty-three parish churches. The consequence was that either members of the institution were made the nominal holders of the parochial appointments, without any decent pretence of performing parish duties, or the actual parish priest was stripped of his principal revenues, and left with a miserable pittance utterly inadequate to the requirements of his position.

Unfortunately, we are altogether without any detailed information as to the domestic life and habits of the people which might aid us in reaching a definite conclusion as to the state of religion throughout the country during this period. It would seem that, speaking generally, the condition of the people was one of poverty and dependence, and except in parishes where they were singularly favoured with a pious, intelligent, and industrious priest, they could have no means of instruction, even the most elementary, and no prospect of advancement. Probably none of the common people could read, and the education of most of the barons was equally deficient. The only way whereby a scanty knowledge of Scripture was obtained, was by the preaching of the itinerant friars and by the more familiar recitals of the parish priests. These teachers, however, were themselves grossly ignorant. Very few among them knew more

of Scripture than the portions found in the Church services, and in their preaching they generally gave more place to ecclesiastical tradition and legend than to the Word of God. It is sad to find that almost all that goes by the name of Scottish Church history for the long period of two hundred years, embracing the whole of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, concerns itself, not with the spread of religious knowledge and the growth of the religious life among the people, but with the intrigue of churchmen, who were engrossed with the crooked and sinuous diplomacy of civil and ecclesiastical statecraft, their ecclesiastical schemes being every whit as worldly as the schemes of politicians, who frankly confessed that their kingdom was of this world. The higher clergy were immersed in politics, and the ordinary monks and friars, and the great majority of parish priests, with too little education to be able to appreciate the books which were being gathered into the libraries of the cathedrals and principal monasteries, and devoid of personal piety or any religious enthusiasm that could have made them go forth to instruct and evangelize the people, sank down into sluggish indolence and selfish, often vicious, indulgence, until the very name of religion, though outwardly revered, came to be inwardly hated and despised by the people. During these two centuries, from a religious point of view, things were steadily going on from bad to worse.

The records of those centuries, which are so sterile in incidents interesting and of importance to the church historian, are full of stirring episodes in the political history and civil development of the country. Under a succession of powerful kings, William the Lion, Alexander II., Alexander III., and Robert Bruce, Scotland, which had already been consolidated into a great nation, was able to assert its independence of England, and, by means of one struggle after another, took rank alongside of the larger southern kingdom. As we have seen, the Scottish kings were exceedingly jealous of any ecclesiastical claims on the part of England, naturally fearing lest any admission of ecclesiastical depen-

dence might strengthen the claim of political supremacy, which they were determined never to yield. In this way, William and his Scottish clergy, no longer satisfied with Alexander's scheme of fighting York by Canterbury, declared that the Scottish Church was independent of the English Church, and only subject to the bishop of Rome. The question was formally debated in a council held at Northampton in A.D. 1176 by a papal legate, in the presence of King Henry of England and King William of Scotland. Canterbury and York contested with one another, each claiming the right of primacy in the Scottish church, and this dispute led the king and the cardinal to dissolve the meeting without adjudging superiority to either. But even Rome itself was not to obtain unquestioned absolute authority in the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland. In A.D. 1178 the king and the pope opposed each other in the selection of a bishop of St. Andrews. The pope, through his legate, consecrated the man whom the king opposed. The king defied the pope, and in A.D. 1181 was excommunicated and had his country placed under an interdict. The death of Pope Alexander III. and the accession of Lucius III. occasioned the removal of the excommunication and interdict, and the settlement of the king's favourite in St. Andrews. In A.D. 1188 Clement III. of Rome, by a bull, finally set aside the English claims in favour of direct and immediate dependence on Rome. A much more serious collision between king and pope occurred in the third year of the reign of Alexander II., A.D. 1216. John of England was the vassal of Rome, and when Alexander, induced by the offer of the three northern countries, agreed to get the help of the barons against the king, the Papal legate solemnly excommunicated the Scottish monarch and again laid his country under the ban. Scotland lay under the interdict for a whole year. All the churches were closed, no religious service of any kind was held, and the dying and the dead got no help from the church, and in every possible way the people were made to feel that they lay under the wrath of an offended God. Even when at last Alexander,

in consequence of the desertion of the French king, was obliged to seek reconciliation with Rome, and obtained the removal of the interdict, the granting of this favour was made conditional upon large payments from the parish priests, which were exacted with unscrupulous rapacity by the representatives of the Papal legate and their deputies. Here and there over the country stories are told of revolts against the unbridled greed of individual prelates. Of John, bishop of Caithness, who, in A.D. 1199, was mutilated and blinded by the Earl, Boece says that he was evil of conscience and full of vice. In A.D. 1222, the people of Caithness rose against their bishop, Adam, who had been taking for every ten cows the amount of butter which he had a legal right to only for every twenty, and after treating him very barbarously, roasted him before his own kitchen fire in his house at Halkirk.

The position of the Scottish church was all this while anomalous in this respect, that none of its episcopal sees had any regular jurisdiction over the others. The churches of England, and those of the other western nations, had their own metropolitans; but in Scotland, though St. Andrews, and next in order Glasgow, had a certain precedence of rank, as for example in the crowning of the kings, none had any ecclesiastical authority over the rest. In A.D. 1225, Pope Honorius III. issued a bull which allowed the bishops, abbots, priors, and representatives of cathedral chapters, and of collegiate and conventual institutions to meet annually as a provincial synod under the presidency of one chosen by the bishops from their own number, to deal with matters affecting the interest of the national church. But not till A.D. 1472 was St. Andrews made a metropolitan see, and all the other Scottish bishops made suffragans of the archbishop. Still even the privilege of holding synods under a president who was one of themselves, gave to the ecclesiastics of the Scottish church an official who practically wielded the influence and exercised the functions of a primate. The Scottish clergy, as represented by this Synod, steadily supported the king in resisting Papal encroachments and refusing to allow

contributions to be carried away out of the country by the Papal legate or his deputies. Once and again sturdy opposition was offered even to demands made by the Pope. The cardinal legate, Ottobone dei Fieschi, was in England seeking to bring about peace between Henry III. and his barons; and he took the opportunity of his sojourn there in A.D. 1267 to visit Scotland, and insisted on taxing the cathedrals and parishes for the expenses of his visitation. This exaction king and clergy unanimously refused to submit to, and instead of gathering to a full council in the following year to meet him, only four Scottish ecclesiastical dignitaries went, not to acquiesce in his demands, but to maintain the freedom of their church. Even when the cardinal changed his tactics, and persuaded the Pope, Clement IV., in A.D. 1268, to make a grant of a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland for the support of a company of crusaders led by the English prince, Edward, the Scottish king sturdily refused the contribution, but undertook to send a company and share in the risks and glories of the holy war. When next a claim was made it was advanced directly by the Pope, without the intermediary of the prince of another country. In A.D. 1275, Pope Gregory X. was making a great effort to raise a powerful force for another attempt to win back the holy sepulchre. He sent down to Scotland Benemund de Vicci, usually known as Bagimont, to collect a tax for this purpose. The whole of the Scottish clergy assembled in Council at Perth, and evidently showed themselves very reluctant to comply with this demand, for the Papal messenger found it necessary to threaten them with the ban of the church, if they did not agree to pay a tenth of all their revenues. Under pressure of this threat they submitted. On one point, however, they held out for a time. Bagimont's Roll, as it was called, was a schedule in which all the ecclesiastical seats and benefices were entered at their true and full value. The clergy pleaded that the old valuation of clerical property should be made the basis of their taxation, but the Pope

refused to yield, and so this higher standard continued to be that upon which all future taxing was determined.

During the struggle for national independence against England, which filled up the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the Scottish churchmen were found loyal to their country, and, in a truly enlightened and practical fashion, patriotically ready to contribute liberally of their wealth and their influence and skill, in aiding the cause of the people and their rightful king. Lamberton was bishop of St. Andrews during the whole period, and he proved one of the staunchest and most helpful supporters of Robert Bruce. In the administration of his episcopal office he seems to have been animated by a wise and generous spirit. The large resources of his see were used to secure rich endowments for the strengthening and further establishment of the church. The same spirit seems also to have possessed the other Scottish bishops and the clergy generally, so that not only did they unanimously and heartily support the king in his military and diplomatic measures for the civil independence of the people, but they vigorously supported him in his resistance of Papal aggression, especially in the matter of interference in ecclesiastical appointments. In A.D. 1317, Pope John XXI. ventured to interfere in the strife between Scotland and England by sending two cardinals to proclaim a truce, and in case of the Scottish King being obstinate, to pronounce excommunication against him. These cardinals sent two messengers to Bruce to inform him of the will of the pontiff, but in their letters he was not addressed as King of Scotland, so he declined to acknowledge himself as the person for whom they were intended. And even when a friar was sent by the cardinals to proclaim the truce in Scotland, the King refused to see him, because the bull did not recognize his royal title. In A.D. 1320, a great national assembly meeting in Arbroath appealed directly to the Pope for acknowledgment of their independence, showing that Scotland always had been a free country, that she had a lawful king of her own, that they would never be subject to England, and that he, as head of

Christendom, ought to support them in the assertion of their righteous contention. The fear of England, and the influence of English gold, delayed a favourable reply, but at last, in A.D. 1336, the Pope formally recognized Bruce's title.

But while king and clergy were completely at one in resisting all encroachments of the ecclesiastical authority of Rome, it must not be supposed that either king or clergy would encourage or even tolerate any departure from the creed or discipline of the church as taught and practised in Rome. It was the policy of Albany, a powerful ruler, who held the regency A.D. 1406-1420, to avoid all occasion of hostility between himself on the one hand, and the barons and clergy on the other. The battle of Harlaw, which, in A.D. 1411, put a final stop to all serious racial conflicts in Scotland, would never have been won had not the barons been thoroughly in sympathy with the government, and it would have been impossible to preserve peace with foreign powers unless the regent secured the hearty and unanimous support of the wealthy and influential dignitaries of the church. In England during the same period, Henry IV. purchased the goodwill of the church by persecuting all who fell under its ban. The followers of Wickliff were spreading rapidly through the country, clergymen were leaving their parishes to become itinerant Lollard preachers, and laymen were everywhere active in proclaiming the doctrines of the new evangelicalism. In A.D. 1401, the infamous act called the Statute of Heretics, was passed, enjoining all magistrates to put to death by burning such persons as were given up to them by the bishops for teaching heresy or having heretical books, or refusing to abjure heretical opinions. In that same year William Sawtre and others were put to death at the stake. In A.D. 1406 or 1407 one of the English priests of the school of Wickliff, called James Resby, made his appearance in Scotland. An eloquent man, full of zeal for the dissemination of evangelical truth, and much admired by the common people for his preaching, he soon attracted the attention of the official

representatives of the church. He was summoned to the bar of an ecclesiastical council, over which Lawrence of Lindores presided—a learned canonist and scholastic theologian, and at the same time a severe and strict inquisitor. The charge against him was made up of some forty counts, but of these only two are on record. He denied that the pope is the vicar of Christ, and that any one could be pope or vicar of Christ who was not personally holy. Though the prosecution was conducted by the most acute and learned theologian in Scotland, Resby defended his doctrine in so powerful a way that he could be answered only by miserable quibbles and a torrent of hard names and denunciatory epithets. He was condemned in due form, the inquisitor, as the old chronicler tells us, confuting the writings as well as the author, and reducing them both to ashes in the flames. The reproach of this first Scottish martyrdom for the protestant faith lies equally upon the representatives of the church and of the state. Condemned by the ecclesiastics, the victim of their intolerance was handed over to the secular arm and sent to the stake. The regent, Albany, is celebrated by contemporary authors for his hatred towards all Lollards and heretics, and for the zeal with which he defended the purity and all other privileges of the church. But Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews, and his clergy, took the initiative, and were the interested parties in this prosecution, the regent's zeal being in no proper sense religious, but simply a means of meeting a political exigency, and securing the support of an important party in the state.

From A.D. 1309 to A.D. 1377 the popes, under French influence, were living at Avignon. Benedict XII., a French pope, was, in A.D. 1341, residing there when David II. of Scotland and Philip VI. of France recommended to him for the bishopric of St. Andrews, William Landels, provost of Kinkell. During a long episcopate of forty-four years, Landels maintained the good and honourable traditions of the Scottish church, steadily resisting all encroachment on the independence of the national church, and supporting

the king on the field and in the council chamber. He and fellow churchmen showed their patriotism by seeking and obtaining papal sanction to divert one tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom for three years for the payment of the ransom demanded by the English for the restoring of the Scottish king. In the interests of his order the energetic prelate opposed the exactions of the king, as well as of the pope, when these seemed unjust. It had previously been customary for the king, on the death of a bishop, to lay claim, as heir, to all his moveable estate. Landels, however, succeeded in passing a measure which allowed bishops to will their goods as they pleased.

In behalf of the independence of the church, the interference of the pope in making ecclesiastical appointments had for a long while been resisted by the king and patriotic churchmen. As far back as A.D. 1262, about the middle of the reign of Alexander III., the pope, Urban IV., in order to secure as much money as possible from those appointed to the richer ecclesiastical benefices, issued an injunction that all bishops and abbots should repair for consecration to Rome. Whether the person nominated was ever actually invested would depend ordinarily on his ability to find money sufficient for bribes to win the favour of the pontiff. In this way the election of bishops by the cathedral chapters, and of abbots by the monks of the abbey, was often quite indecisive, as refusal or delay on the part of the pope to consecrate, might keep the bishop or abbot indefinitely absent from the diocese or monastery, and might ultimately necessitate the election of another, who would be better able to secure the favour of the pope. Ambitious churchmen were wont to frequent the papal court in order to obtain influence that would help their promotion to coveted posts as they became vacant. Henry Wardlaw, nephew of Walter Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow, who, in A.D. 1384, had been created cardinal, and made legate *a latere* for Scotland by Urban VI. in A.D. 1384, was sent by his uncle on a mission to Avignon, and while there he was promoted to the bishopric of St. Andrews in A.D. 1404 by Pope Bene-

dict XIII. Though he had thus stooped to obtain his preferment by the personal favour of the Pope, and had taken advantage of an exercise of Papal patronage against which kings and clergy of Scotland had long protested, Wardlaw proved an enlightened and energetic prelate, busying himself with the correction of abuses and removing the reproach of dissoluteness and ignorance that with too much truth had been brought against the clergy and monks of his diocese. Twenty years later, King James I., whose tutor Wardlaw had been, had a measure passed in his first parliament forbidding any cleric to obtain any pension out of a secular or religious benefice by purchase, and a later enactment made it illegal to go over the seas without permission, or to carry with them out of the country suspicious quantities of gold.

Wardlaw owed his preferment to Benedict XIII. Benedict was one of the ablest and certainly one of the most famous of the anti-Popes who, from A.D. 1378 to A.D. 1714, in Avignon assumed the Papal rank in opposition to the representatives of the Italian Cardinals in Rome. Scotland had been with France a consistent supporter of the Popes of Avignon; and even after France had withdrawn, she continued along with Spain to assert the claims of Benedict. But at last the Council of Constance, after seeking in vain to persuade Benedict to resign, as Gregory XII. had done, deposed him as well as John XXIII., and sent to Scotland a message to secure her concurrence in this measure which all the other Catholic Powers had approved. A council or parliament was held at Perth, and there the arguments for and against Benedict were discussed. The Regent Albany was inclined to support the Pope to whose fortunes Scotland had hitherto been faithful, and the case for Benedict was stated and defended by an English Franciscan friar, Robert Harding. But the rector of the University of St. Andrews, and John Fogo, monk and afterwards Abbot of Melrose, along with other eminent divines, convicted him of ten dangerous errors. The clergy and ecclesiastical teachers of Scotland were now unanimously opposed to the man whose

obstinacy was the only cause for the schism which had so long been the reproach of Christendom. The nation now listened to the voice of her churchmen and joined the party of Martin V., in whom the Christian world were agreed to find a common head.

One of the most notable events that occurred during the Regency of Albany was the founding of the first Scottish University. Up to this time all the education attainable for those preparing for office in Church or State had to be sought either in the monastic establishments of the country or in foreign universities. For well-nigh two centuries there had been fairly well-equipped schools in Oxford and Cambridge, but, owing to the unsettled relations between England and Scotland, the English schools had hitherto attracted few of the Scottish students. These, for the most part, went to Paris, where a Scotch college had been established in A.D. 1326 by the Bishop of Moray, for students from his own diocese, but opened subsequently to all scholars from this country. In Oxford, Baliol College had been founded in A.D. 1263 by the Scoto-Norman John de Baliol, the father of Bruce's rival as claimant of the Scottish throne, and a century later it was presided over by the great reformer Wickliff, whose scholars were now spreading into all countries, and had already made their appearance in Scotland. There were already several Scottish scholars who were teaching with distinction in foreign schools. In the middle of the thirteenth century, John Holywood or Joannes de Sacrobosco, the famous author of *De sphaera mundi*, a native of Nithsdale, taught mathematics in the University of Paris. And most famous of all was John Scotus of Duns, the great Franciscan, who stands alongside Aquinas, as one of the greatest of all the schoolmen. He received his own training at Oxford, and after teaching there for a time, proceeded to Paris about the beginning of the fourteenth century, where he proved the most popular exponent of the scholastic theology. Besides these, Scotland had many admirable representatives of her scholarship among professors of theology, philosophy, and law, in English

and continental universities during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. When Henry Wardlaw returned to Scotland as Bishop of St. Andrews, he was fired with an honourable ambition to provide for his country in his own episcopal city a native university where Scottish statesman and churchmen might be trained without having to go to England or to France. There were now, thanks to the training they had received in those foreign schools, a very considerable number of learned men in the monastic institutions of Scotland who were thoroughly qualified to act as university professors. Accordingly in A.D. 1410 lectures began to be read in St. Andrews under the patronage of the Bishop. The lecturers chosen were all men of high repute. Laurence of Lindores, Abbot of Scone, and one of Scotland's most learned theologians, who has already appeared before us in the less attractive figure of a persecuting inquisitor, began by reading lectures on the fourth book of Sentences; Dr. Richard Corvel, Archdeacon of Lothian, taught the canon law; Sir John Litster, canon of St. Andrews and licentiate of Decretals, John Scheves, official of St. Andrews, and William Stephenson, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, lectured on divinity. Besides these there were three lecturers on philosophy and logic: John Gyll, William Fowlis, and William Crosier. In order that the institution thus originated might be constituted as a regular university, application was made to Pope Benedict XIII.; and on the 3rd of February, 1414, Henry Ogilvy, M.A., arrived in St. Andrews, carrying with him the Papal Bull and letter of privilege founding the university. The whole clergy took part in a solemn service of thanksgiving, at which the *Te Deum* was sung, and all the citizens celebrated the event with festivities and rejoicings as one of the highest importance in the history of the nation. From the very first it was largely frequented by the Scottish youth, and the ability of its earliest teachers secured for it a rank alongside of those other institutions upon which its constitution and organisation had been modelled. It ought to be recorded to the credit of those

first teachers in the oldest Scottish university that they received no income beyond that of their ecclesiastical benefices which they held independently of those gratuitously performed labours. At the same time literary distinction brought preferment sooner or later. One of the earliest enquiries of James I., when in A.D. 1424 he came to the throne, was respecting men who had distinguished themselves in their studies that he might promote them to offices of honour and responsibility, and thus at once the university became a nursery to supply well-qualified officials for the civil and ecclesiastical government of the country.

Those who distinguished themselves during the fourteenth century as writers were, so far as known to us now, all of them churchmen. The earliest of all our Scottish historians is the chronicler John of Fordun. He was born, in all probability, at Fordun in the Mearns, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, became a secular priest and canon of the cathedral of Aberdeen, and apparently lived on till A.D. 1385. He wrote his *Scotichronicon* in Latin, having gathered the materials for it by extensive travels through Scotland and Ireland. He lived only to complete five books of his chronicle, in which he brings the history down to the death of David I., in A.D. 1153. But besides his finished work, he left behind him for the benefit of any successor who might take up the task at the point where he broke off, a large number of valuable notes recording historical occurrences reaching down as far as A.D. 1385, which shows that his life extended at least to this date. The record of facts given in these notes constitutes the most valuable part of his work from the historian's point of view. These notes were made use of by his continuator, Walter Bower, abbot of the monastery of canons regular at Inchcolm, who carried the narrative down to A.D. 1437. A younger contemporary of Fordun, but evidently unacquainted with him, was the chronicler Andrew Wyntoun, canon regular of the priory of St. Andrews, and from A.D. 1395, prior of St. Serf's Inch, Loch Leven. He was born somewhere about the middle of the fourteenth century, and lived till sometime after A.D.

1420, to which date his last historical note refers. Nothing is known about his personal life. He writes a rhyming chronicle in the vernacular Scotch, in lines of four feet, varied occasionally by lines sometimes of six, sometimes of ten syllables. He names his work *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*. It is divided into nine books, of which the first four treat of ancient history, beginning with the creation of the world, and the other five deal with his proper subject, the history of Scotland. It is written in a bright, flowing style, with remarkable impartiality and with an evident endeavour to state accurately the facts which he had laboriously gathered. The only other Scottish writer of this period deserving of mention is our first great Scottish poet, John Barbour, the well-known and far-famed author of *The Bruce*. He was born, probably in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, in A.D. 1316, was archdeacon of Aberdeen in A.D. 1357, and died in A.D. 1395. On at least two occasions he visited Oxford in company with three scholars for purposes of study, and on a similar errand journeyed twice to France. His great work is a heroic poem in which he narrates the main incidents in the stirring and eventful life of Robert Bruce, with many realistic descriptions of life and manners among the Scottish people of that age. As a poet many critics allow that he compares favourably with his contemporary, Chaucer. In these works then, of Fordun, Wyntoun, and Barbour, we have a beginning of a national literature in prose and verse, remarkable for the age in which it was produced, and creditable to the church in which its authors were reared and lived.

But amid much that was attractive and imposing in her outward organization, there were already evil influences at work within the Scottish church which laid her open to the attacks that now began to be made upon her from without. The idle and dissolute lives of the great majority of the monks, the ignorance and contemptible habits of the secular clergy, and the rapacity and cruelty with which all classes of churchmen exacted their dues on all manner of pretexts, had produced among the people distrust and dislike that

only waited a fit opportunity to obtain expression. In earlier times, under David, William, and the Alexanders, the money and lands so freely given to the church were well applied to an institution which helped very efficiently to build up the national fabric and supplied the culture and discipline then required. But this wealth was now in many cases sadly abused, and was bringing a curse alike on church and people. The old Scottish historian, John Major, has aptly said: "It was primitive sanctity that brought forth wealth, but the mother has been strangled by her wanton daughters." Protests were raised against false and unscriptural doctrines, many of which, such as those of absolution, purgatory, masses for the dead, were indispensable means for the enforcing of these exactions which only people wrought upon by fear of judgment or by confidence in priestly power could be induced continuously to pay. Wickliff's exposure of the creed and conduct of the priests had been influencing men, learned and unlearned, in England and on the Continent for well-nigh fifty years. An English disciple of the reformer was the first on Scottish soil to give his life in defence of a purer faith and a holier life. The second witness for protestantism was Paul Craw, a Bohemian, who had learnt Wickliffism from Hus. He was a physician of great eminence in his profession, but he came to St. Andrews in A.D. 1433 to spread the knowledge of the gospel. For this he was well qualified by his remarkable familiarity with scripture, and his singular skill and readiness in debate. But the aged inquisitor and theologian, Lawrence of Lindores, who a quarter of a century before had secured the condemnation of James Resby, was still to be reckoned with. Craw had insisted that the Scriptures should be put into the hands of the people, that the doctrines of priestly absolution and of purgatory were human inventions, and that churchmen should be subject to the civil government like other men. He made a powerful defence, but he had really been condemned before he began to speak. From the scene of his trial he was hurried to the stake, on 23rd July, A.D. 1433. Undoubtedly a considerable number of the

people must have been secretly in sympathy with the Lollard doctrines. Sixty years later the Lollards were found to be somewhat numerous in Ayrshire. The Bohemian doctor had evidently been sent over by the Husites to secure a mutual understanding with the Wickliffites of Scotland, and to stir up their missionary zeal. It was indeed with them the day of small things. There was not even one amongst them strong enough to show interest in the heroic foreigner. But the seed sown was growing secretly, and by and by, though not speedily, the good fruit will appear.

CHAPTER III.

*Beginning of Reformation to the Death of Beaton.**

A.D. 1433—1546.

DURING the long minority of James II., the church sinks entirely out of view, and Scottish history presents a sad, and almost unrelieved spectacle of plots and counterplots, by which one ambitious and crafty statesman sought the overthrow of another of a similar description, and of the alternating of self-seeking and unscrupulous rivals. But though civil affairs bulked much more prominently in the public view than ecclesiastical matters, yet at least in some districts good work was being done in the teaching of the people, which bore fruit in a most unexpected manner by and by in the response which they were able to make to the preaching of ecclesiastical and religious reformers. For while the widespread ignorance and indolence of the monks and parochial clergy as a whole, and the worldliness and ambition of the majority of the dignitaries of the church, and the rapacity and cruel exactions of churchmen high and low, alienated the people and gave occasion to endless sneering and satirical reflections on the proceedings of priests and prelates, we must remember that mere annoyance at grievances, and even the perception of gross inconsistencies

* Literature.—Knox, *History of Reformation of Church of Scotland* (1534), ed. Laing, Vol. I., Edin. 1846; Bp. Lesley, *History of Scotland from Death of James I. to 1561*; Lindsay of Pitscottie, *History of Scotland from 1436 to 1565* (eminently readable, but not always reliable); Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, Edin. 1887; Herkless, *Cardinal Beaton, Priest and Politician*, Edinburgh 1891; Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, 1, 211-401.

in the lives of their spiritual advisers, might lead to a revolution, but not to a religious reformation. The indispensable condition of such a movement is the spreading of a knowledge of evangelical truth among a considerable portion of the inhabitants of the country, and this, on the other hand, implies the presence of faithful priests who have been quietly teaching the people the truth of the Word of God, and training them in the faith and life of Jesus Christ.

Bishop Wardlaw, of St. Andrews, died on 6th April, A.D. 1446, and was succeeded by James Kennedy. This distinguished prelate was born in A.D. 1405, son of Sir James Kennedy of Dunure, his mother being a daughter of King Robert III. He was thus cousin to James II. in whose reign he was, in A.D. 1444, transferred from the bishopric of Dunkeld to that of St. Andrews. The great power in Scotland which now threatened to rival the authority of the king and the royal party was that of Douglas, which embraced many of the most powerful nobles of the land. Kennedy at once took up an attitude of determined opposition to Douglas, and in order to make his opposition effective, he joined the party of ex-Chancellor Crichton. When in A.D. 1450 James began to reign in person, the Crichtons were his favourites, and Kennedy his principal statesman and most trusted counsellor. It was not to be wondered at that the young king, when he came to understand how numerous and influential the party of Douglas was, how many and great were the branches of the Douglas family itself, and what powerful alliances had been made with families scarcely less powerful than their own, began to feel that he had little more than the name of a king, and that the Douglas held the dictatorship in his own hand. To undertake the reduction of the Douglas faction seemed like undertaking the conquest of the half, and perhaps the better half, of the kingdom. In his perplexity he had recourse to his sage adviser, the Bishop of St. Andrews. The story is told with rare dramatic power by Pitscottie. The Bishop led the King into his oratory, calling on him to join with him in prayer to God that He might give him strength and

wisdom to face boldly and overcome the daring rebels who had defied the laws of God and man, and were bringing confusion upon the country and misery among the people. He then conducted him back into his house, and put into his hands a bundle of arrows tied very firmly together, and required him to break it. This the young king found to be far beyond his strength. The arrows were too many and too firmly bound together. The bishop then took the arrows apart, and the king easily broke them one by one and two by two. "Thus," said the wise counsellor to the perplexed monarch, "must you deal with your dangerous and disloyal nobles. The Douglas and his numerous adherents are too many to be overthrown together at one blow; their firm alliance must be broken; a free pardon should be offered to those who have been offenders, if they undertake to become true and faithful servants of the king in all time coming." And so the king proceeded to act upon this good advice, winning over by conciliatory measures one and another of the adherents of the Douglas, and falling upon others in places and at times where and when help could not be brought them, until at last, but not until five years had been spent in the work, the power of the party that had threatened the very existence of the Stewart dynasty was utterly broken, and the Douglas himself was a fugitive over the English border.

Bishop Kennedy was undoubtedly the ablest and by far the most patriotic statesmen of his age. But though he was so much occupied in state affairs, he was one of the most religious and devout men of all those who ever held a position of authority in the Scottish Church, and he did more than any of his predecessors in the way of supervising the work of the clergymen in his diocese. He insisted upon all the parsons and vicars living constantly in their parishes and attending to the instruction and edification of their flocks, to the preaching of the Word of God among the people, and to the visiting of the sick. He regularly visited each kirk within his diocese four times every year, preaching himself and making enquiry as to the instructions given by

the vicar and his diligence generally in his work. He also carefully enquired as to the training of the young, and the support given to the poor. Where he discovered negligence and wrong doing, he inflicted exemplary punishment, while he gave all encouragement and help to faithful priests who sought the temporal and spiritual good of their people. He also showed his interest in the higher education by his founding in A.D. 1150 the College of St. Salvator in St. Andrews. He appointed three divinity professors and four masters of arts, all in priests' orders, besides six poor scholars or clerks. The whole number of incumbents was thus thirteen, after the pattern of our Saviour and the twelve apostles, by whose name the new institution was called. For the support of the three divinity professors, the bishops appropriated the ecclesiastical revenues of three parishes, which, after providing for the stipends of the vicars, supplied salaries for the college teachers. He called John Athelmer from the University of Paris to be provost or principal of his college, and Thomas Logy, who had been rector of the university, and James Ogilvy, a learned man highly praised by the Council of Basel in A.D. 1440, and afterwards Professor of Theology in Aberdeen, were his colleagues in the first regular faculty of divinity in Scotland.

Whether as a churchman or a politician, Kennedy stands, morally and intellectually, at the head of all who had hitherto served in church and state in this country. He was bishop of St. Andrews for twenty-one years, and has been recognised by all Scottish historians as the greatest and best man of his age. He took, as we have seen, a very prominent and useful part in Scottish politics during the reign of James II., and, surviving that monarch's death for five years, he was all that time the most influential and trustworthy of those who were responsible for the government of the country during the minority of the young prince. He died in July, A.D. 1465, and it was immediately felt that his loss was irreparable. He was mourned as a father, says Buchanan, by all good men.

For about forty years the University of St. Andrews was the only university in Scotland. There had always been a considerable amount of rivalry between the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and when, in A.D. 1448, William Turnbull, archdeacon of St. Andrews, was consecrated bishop of Glasgow, he soon directed his energies to the erection of a university at his episcopal seat in the capital of the west. It was fortunate for the Scottish bishop that the reigning pope, himself a distinguished scholar, a humanist, and a supporter of humanist studies, was ready to become a patron and active furtherer of all well-conceived schemes for the foundation of seminaries of learning in all parts of his dominion. When, therefore, bishop Turnbull applied to Pope Nicholas V. in A.D. 1450 for permission to establish a university in Glasgow, he immediately obtained the warm approval of the pontiff. In his petition on behalf of his scheme, the bishop was supported by the king, who had just then entered personally on the government of his country, and it was represented that Glasgow enjoyed a salubrious climate, was conveniently situated for the securing of all necessary supplies, and was a suitable centre for the dissemination of Catholic truth and the spread of the Catholic faith. The papal bull of A.D. 1451 conferred upon the new university all the privileges and immunities that had been granted to the most favoured old continental seats of learning, and in A.D. 1453 the king gave it his protection and freed its members from all dues and taxes and services imposed on other citizens. Notwithstanding all these advantages, the university long suffered from the scantiness of its endowments, and was often reduced to the verge of extinction. Many of the best Scottish students continued to go to Paris and other continental universities, residence at which was supposed to confer a superior distinction for scholarship and culture. Among the earlier professors in the university of Glasgow was the famous John Mair or Major, student of Cambridge and Paris, and, in A.D. 1523, after leaving Glasgow, professor in St. Andrews. One of the students who matricu-

lated in A.D. 1451 was William Elphinston, afterwards bishop of Aberdeen, and founder of the third Scottish university. Some sixty or seventy years later, during the term of Major's professorship, two men enrolled as students of the western university, whose names figure in Scottish history as representatives of the old religion and the new, David Beaton and John Knox.

The successor of Kennedy in the see of St. Andrews was his half-brother, the Hon. Patrick Graham. He was elected by the chapter on 4th November, 1465, but his election was opposed by the Boyds, who, during the minority of James III., had assumed, after the death of Kennedy, absolute power in the government of the kingdom. Sir Thomas Boyd was made Earl of Arran, and married the eldest sister of the young king. The Boyds were bitterly hostile to the Kennedy family, and though the parliament had passed laws enacting that no appointment to ecclesiastical offices should be made either by king or pope, but only by the ecclesiastical persons with whom the election properly lay, Graham was refused permission to go to Rome to have his appointment confirmed, or to assume the office to which he had been regularly elected. Accordingly, he withdrew at his own risk to Rome, where Pope Paul II. readily upheld his appointment as regular and legitimate, and treated him personally with much honour and respect. Meanwhile Graham continued to reside at the papal court. During the absence of the new bishop, the archbishop of York renewed his claim upon the primacy of the Scottish church, and on 17th August, A.D. 1472, Sixtus IV., who had just succeeded Paul II. in the papal chair, declared in favour of the Scots, and erected the bishopric of St. Andrews into an Archbishopric, with metropolitan powers over the twelve bishops of Scotland. Graham was a man of high character and distinguished scholarship, and had been for a few years bishop of Brechin. The state of the clergy in Scotland had been going from bad to worse. Notwithstanding the institution of native universities, and the occasional presence of good and able churchmen among the bishops and

higher clergy, the character and qualifications of the bishops, and especially of the monks, who were now in swarms all over the country, and the vicars and secular clergy, were low beyond anything that it is possible in these days to conceive. Ignorance and vice were rampant among the lower orders, and ambition and worldliness, and all forms of irreligion, pervaded the ranks of those enjoying the richer benefices. It was well known that Graham was determined to use all his influence in order to check and correct such abuses. He had evidently succeeded in convincing the pope that the stability of the church in Scotland was being seriously endangered by the wide-spread corruption of the clergy, and by the appointment on political grounds of incompetent and irreligious persons to bishoprics and the richer abbacies. And so, in order that the new primate of Scotland might have all the greater influence in putting down irregularities in the churches under his rule, the pope gave him for three years the rank of legate, or papal nuncio, and thus, in carrying out his reforms, he could act with the authority of the pope himself.

The disgrace and overthrow of the Boyds in A.D. 1469 did not make things any smoother in Scotland for the reforming prelate. When, towards the end of A.D. 1473, Graham, having at least twelve months before this sent on, and caused to be published in Scotland, the papal bull of his appointment, ventured himself to return to take possession of his archiepiscopal see, he found king, nobles, and clergy all banded against him, prepared to dispute his authority, and to resist his reforms to the uttermost. The king, who was already beginning to show that inordinate greed for money which characterised him throughout his whole life, saw that the royal patronage of the richer benefices might be made the means of securing great wealth to himself. He might use it to reward services for which otherwise he would have been obliged to pay out of the treasury, or he might considerably augment his revenues by obtaining large sums of money from the presentee or his friends. The nobles had younger sons to provide for or

other dependants, and they did not wish to impoverish the family by dividing the estates. Nothing could suit them better than the privilege of appointing such to a rich church living, a bishopric, or the presidency of a well-endowed abbey or priory, the occupant of which would have the means supplied him that would enable him to take his place on equal terms alongside of his noble brother and cousin. And while thus the king and his nobles, for mercenary and purely selfish reasons, dreaded the entering into power of a primate who had declared himself determined to put an end at once to practices which were really equivalent to the secularization of ecclesiastical offices and functions, the clergy, high and low, were equally alarmed at the prospect of having a primate armed with legatine powers, whose avowed aim and mission was to prevent all unjust and exorbitant exactions on their part, and to exercise a strict discipline over incompetent, indolent, and vicious priests, whether in parishes, or monasteries, or cathedral chapters.

So eager were the clergy in their opposition, so evidently did they regard their attitude toward Graham as involving a life and death struggle, that they gave to the king the amazingly large sum of 12,000 merks, to make sure of having him with them. This gift of theirs would show the king what they could do for him, and how they could make it worth his while to support them against reforming zealots. Their chief agent and representative was one William Scheves, a physician of the old school of marvel-mongers, who professed to be skilled in the mysterious art of astrology, and had thus won the ear and good will of a credulous and superstitious prince, who coquetted with science, especially in its more fantastic forms, favoured by the somewhat juvenile taste of that age. This man, an adventurer and a charlatan, who had during Graham's absence been appointed archdeacon of St. Andrews, gave voice to the hatred of the clergy toward Graham, and concocted with the king and his courtiers plausible grounds for accusation against the pure and high-minded bishop. It

would seem that the court affected to take offence at Graham for going to Rome without the royal permission, and obtaining there, without first having a commission from the crown, confirmation of his election to the highest dignity in the national church. It was an easy thing for such a powerful combination as that formed by king, nobles, and clergy, which represented the entire wealth of the kingdom, to purchase from Rome a bull giving effect to their wishes. Such a bull was published on 9th January, A.D. 1478. When we consider what sort of a man Sixtus IV. was, we need not be surprised to find that the same pope who, five years before, after giving him for at least two years his intimate friendship and manifold evidences of esteem, sent Graham to Scotland as his legate to do the very things which his enemies now sought to prevent him doing, should so soon and suddenly discover that he had been guilty of serious offences against the church, that he must be deposed from his office, and confined for the rest of his days in a monastery. Of all the Popes, Sixtus IV. was perhaps the one most glaringly and most frequently guilty of nepotism, and to secure promotions to his relatives he entered once and again on costly wars, the expenses of which had to be paid by taxing the prelates and selling benefices. In the case of such a rapacious, needy, and unprincipled man, the granting of a bull in A.D. 1478 in flagrant contradiction of his own sayings and doings in A.D. 1473, was simply conditioned upon the offer of a sufficiently large price. The archbishop was placed under the supervision of Scheves, and having been pronounced mentally incapable, the mean, cunning intriguer who had brought about his fall, was appointed his coadjutor. Meantime the revenues of the bishopric of St. Andrews were appropriated by the king, and it was only on the death of Graham, which took place at Lochleven in A.D. 1478, that Scheves entered on the enjoyment of the full rank and emoluments of the archiepiscopal office.

Although the actual obtaining of a metropolitan see for Scotland was not at the instance of the king, the

settlement of the dispute regarding primacy, so often raised by York, must have been highly acceptable to the civil as well as to the ecclesiastical government of the kingdom. But just as some of the earlier Scottish kings found it convenient to play off Canterbury against York, one primate against another, so it soon came to be seen by James that it would be of advantage to him to have two archbishops in his country rather than one. In appealing to the Pope, he compares his own country to England, and suggests that if a second archbishopric were erected, St. Andrews would correspond to Canterbury and Glasgow to York. He commends Glasgow strongly as worthy of such distinction. Archbishop Scheves, as we might suppose, keenly opposed this proposal. In the beginning of A.D. 1492, however, Pope Innocent VIII. yielded to the entreaties of the king, and erected Glasgow into an archbishopric. Robert Blackadder, who had been before Bishop of Aberdeen, and from A.D. 1483 Bishop of Glasgow, was the first to enjoy the new dignity in the capital of the west. He was evidently a zealous upholder of the doctrines and practices of the church, quick to discover traces of heresy and relentless in his persecution of those in whom he suspected the presence of a heretical taint.

Sixty years had passed since the burning of Paul Craw at St. Andrews. But Resby and Craw had not preached and died in vain. The simple evangelical doctrines of Wickliff had spread in various districts of the country, and in no place so widely as the central part of Ayrshire called Kyle. In A.D. 1494 the Archbishop of Glasgow summoned to appear before the king in the town of Ayr as many as thirty suspected persons, against whom he laid a charge containing thirty-four counts. They denied that the Pope is the successor of Peter, that there is any value in Papal bulls, pardons or indulgences, that the Virgin, images or relics, should be worshipped, that masses can avail for the dead, that the bread and wine in the sacrament are made by transubstantiation the very body and blood of Christ. They maintained also the universal priesthood of

believers. These "Lollards of Kyle" numbered among them men and women of good social position, such as Campbell of Cessnock, Shaw of Polkemmet, Reid of Barskimming; Lady Stair, and Lady Polkillie. They were fortunate, too, in their chief spokesman Reid, who answered with great readiness of wit, which pleased the king, so that much to Blackadder's annoyance they were dismissed. From the prelate's point of view, however, the making light of such opinions was a serious matter. They were the real progenitors of the great reformation which, in little more than half a century, was to raze to the ground the whole structure of the Romish Church in Scotland.

One of the most beneficent enactments of the reign of James IV. was an Act passed in A.D. 1496 ordaining that all barons and wealthier freeholders must send their eldest sons, when they reached the age of eight or nine years, to the Grammar School, to remain there until they had gained a sufficient knowledge of Latin, and then for three years to one of the universities to attend a course of arts and law. By such a training they would qualify themselves for their position as administrators of justice among their own people. This king had also, in the pursuit of an enlightened policy, made application, at Bishop Elphinston's request, to Pope Alexander VI. in A.D. 1495, and obtained from him permission for the founding of a university at Aberdeen. The excellent bishop gave largely during his lifetime, and bequeathed at his death a very large sum for the building and endowment of King's College. From the first, unlike St. Andrews and Glasgow, this college was supplied with handsome and suitable buildings, and with adequate salaries for its professors. The first principal was the well-known Scottish historian, Hector Boece, whose great work, though full of legend and of no authority, is genuine literature, and the earliest Scottish history that we have written in the vernacular. His contemporary, Major of St. Andrews, wrote in Latin a really critical history in which the legendary tales of romance, which made the early histories and chronicles so popular, were

rigidly excluded, and only statements admitted which seemed supported by evidence as the record of what had actually occurred. The site of King's College is close by that of St. Machar's Cathedral which was begun in A.D. 1357, the central tower of which was built by Bishop Elphinston in A.D. 1489, various additions being made to the edifice by later bishops down to A.D. 1532, when the Chapter House was erected by Bishop Stewart. The great central tower, which was an important sea mark, being 150 feet high, fell in A.D. 1688, undermined by the dilapidation of the surrounding structures.

In A.D. 1507, the first printing press was set up in Edinburgh by two burgesses of the city, Walter Chapman and Andrew Millar. These printers under royal patronage enjoyed a monopoly, so that they alone were empowered to print Acts of Parliament, law books, ecclesiastical books, and other necessary works. It was, perhaps, possible only under such encouragement for any one to undertake so considerable and costly an adventure. The demand for books in Scotland, and the number of those capable of using them, must then have been very limited. A much more doubtful restriction, which could not easily be justified, was the prohibition against importing or selling books printed abroad. The first publication sent forth from this earliest Scottish Press in A.D. 1508 was a volume containing seven poems of William Dunbar. Not very much of value, nor indeed much of anything, was issued from this Press, for it would appear that nothing was printed in Edinburgh between A.D. 1510 and A.D. 1530. From A.D. 1511 onwards, we have David Cranstoun, George Lockhart, William Manderstone, John Major, John Vans, and Hector Boece, all printing their works, philosophical, grammatical, and historical, at foreign Presses, such as those of Paris and Leyden. Before the middle of the sixteenth century there were printing presses in Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen. The introduction of this important art into Scotland was most opportune. Not only had brilliant writers arisen but there was also a large reading class among the people,

a class so large that, even at the dawn and during the early years of the Reformation, the Scottish Press was unable to meet the demand for books.

The primacy of the Scottish Church had fallen upon evil days. The first Archbishop, Patrick Graham, who was an honour to his church and country, had been cruelly and violently put aside by a corrupt court and priesthood. His bitter enemy Scheves, who represented all that was degraded and obscurantist in the age, held the primacy for about twenty-three years, and the fact that his immediate successors were a brother of James IV. and that monarch's illegitimate son, reveals in a striking manner how secularised the principal ecclesiastical office in the kingdom had become. The young Archbishop of St. Andrews fell alongside of his royal father on the disastrous field of Flodden. And so in A.D. 1513 the richest prize of ecclesiastical ambition was vacant, and the patronage of it was eagerly claimed by the three contending interests of Pope, crown and chapter. The Pope nominated Andrew Forman, bishop of Moray and legate *a latere* in Scotland, a crafty traitorous politician, who had ingratiated himself at every court he visited; and obtained everywhere gifts and rich benefices to himself in return for his treacherous betrayal one after another of all interests but his own. The canons of the Cathedral nominated John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, a bold, greedy, and unprincipled man, whose only recorded good deed, the founding of St. Leonard's College, cost him nothing, as he simply appropriated the revenues of a hospital for pilgrims. The Queen Regent nominated Gavin Douglas, abbot of Arbroath, a scion of the great house of Douglas, and uncle to the young Earl of Angus who was the Queen's second husband. Distinguished as a poet, and occupying a high rank among the great literary men of Scotland, he was yet an intriguing politician, and an unscrupulous supporter of the Douglas faction. The castle of St. Andrews had been taken possession of by Gavin Douglas and his friends, but Hepburn, having obtained the support of Lord Chancellor Hume, one of the most powerful of the Scottish barons

of that age, drove out his rival and garrisoned the castle as if preparing for the warlike attacks of his opponents. Douglas now retired from the conflict, and as Hume was mainly instrumental in expelling the Queen Regent from the government, it was necessary that the new regent, Albany, should afford him satisfaction. Accordingly, while the Pope's nominee, Forman, secured the primacy, the very rich benefice of the abbey of Coldingham was given to Lord Hume's brother, and Hepburn, Hume's client, had a number of remunerative appointments bestowed upon him, while two years later Gavin Douglas was made bishop of Dunkeld. The contention for the primacy had been a most unseemly one, and none of the candidates gave any indication of fitness for the position, and certainly none of them showed appreciation of the responsibilities of a great spiritual office. They were mere worldly adventurers, and not high even as such.

In the archbishopric of Glasgow, Blackadder was succeeded in A.D. 1508 by James Beaton, a supporter of the Hamiltons against the Douglasses, whose life was an eventful one, alternately on the height or in the depths, according to the fortunes of his party. In the famous street fight in Edinburgh of 30th April, A.D. 1520, commonly called "Cleanse the Causeway," he was present as a partisan of the Hamiltons, and was only rescued from death at the hand of the victorious Douglasses by the intervention of the bishop of Dunkeld. The leader of the unfortunate Hamiltons on this occasion was Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel, near Linlithgow, an illegitimate son of the first Lord Hamilton, married to a grand-daughter of James II., whose fame had spread in all lands as that of a very ideal knight of chivalry. Though the Douglas wished to spare Sir Patrick, this proved impossible, as he had advanced far ahead of his party, and was cut down at the beginning of the fray. The second son of this brave knight, as chivalrous a man as his father, was fated to have an equally tragical career, though his contests were to be fought in very different lists. His father's zealous supporter, Beaton, was to prove his steady and un-

relenting foe. Patrick Hamilton was born in A.D. 1504, not probably as usually supposed at Kincavel, but either at Glasgow or somewhere within the diocese of Glasgow. When he went to Paris as a student in A.D. 1520, he was enrolled Patricius Hamelto, Glasguensis, Nobilis. He had been appointed while a mere boy, probably soon after the death of Andrew Stewart, the bishop of Caithness, in A.D. 1517, to the abbacy of Ferne, which that bishop had held, and the revenues of this titular office would provide for the expenses of his foreign residence and university training. In Paris young Hamilton came under the spell of Erasmus. He rebelled against the bondage of the old scholasticism, the sophistry which had taken the place of true dialectics, the barbarous travesty of Aristotileism which had supplanted the teaching of a liberal and genuine philosophy. He put Plato before the Aristotle of the schools. His special attainments were in the knowledge of the Greek language and love of its literature. And so, when he returned to Scotland, and was incorporated in or became a member of the university of St. Andrews, in A.D. 1523, he read in the original Greek what his teachers knew only in a barbarous Latin rendering.

It was during Patrick Hamilton's residence in Paris that Luther's disputations with Eck were published and the doctors of the Sorbonne sat in judgment on the new doctrines. And though after long deliberation that tribunal declared Luther a heretic, and his works worthy to be burned, many of the students sympathized with the reformer in his views and read eagerly the brilliant defence of young Melancthon of Wittenberg. Hamilton was an ardent sympathizer with the liberal views of the young scholar, and a warm admirer of his generous humanistic culture. After spending a year or two at Louvaine and Basel, he returned to St. Andrews, and in A.D. 1524 became a member of the Faculty of Arts. The teaching here was all after the antiquated scholastic method; but in the year of Hamilton's incorporation, Gavin Logie, a liberal-minded man, became principal of St. Andrews College, and drew about him a number of fresh,

open hearted young men thirsting after knowledge, and eager to hear about the new ideas which were causing such a stir in academical circles abroad. To all such the coming of Hamilton must have been a source of the highest pleasure. His linguistic attainments, his liberal culture, his free doctrinal sympathies must have made him a centre of attraction to all the members of the college possessed of the inspiring enthusiasms of true students. Continued study had brought him into much closer spiritual contact with the profounder religious and theological views of Luther. And evidently throughout Scotland such doctrines were spreading, for in A.D. 1525 an Act was passed in Parliament at the instance of the bishops, in which it was ordained that no one should bring into the country any of Luther's heretical books, nor dispute about his heresies on pain of losing his goods and suffering imprisonment. Gavin Douglas of Dunkeld made himself conspicuous for his zeal in publishing this act, and having it applied to native Scots as well as to strangers. But all such attempts at prohibition were in vain. Traders brought in to Leith, Dundee, and Montrose copies, not only of Luther's work, but also of Tyndale's English New Testament, and even into St. Andrews were they brought under the very walls of the archbishop's castle. All the while Hamilton was sorely exercised by what he saw every day around him of the corruptions of the church, and at length his spirit was so stirred within him that he could not but speak out. In A.D. 1527, Archbishop Beaton, who had been transferred from Glasgow to St. Andrews in A.D. 1522, having heard rumours against Hamilton, and having satisfied himself of their truth, summoned him to appear before him and answer to the charge of heresy. Hamilton immediately fled to Germany, and at Wittenberg enjoyed the friendship of Luther, and afterwards, at Marburg, that of Melancthon and Francis Lambert of Avignon, and also of the Englishmen, William Tyndale and John Frith. It was during his stay at the latter place, that Hamilton wrote a set of Theses, which were translated by Frith, and are

usually called "Patrick's Places." This little treatise, which is given completely in Frith's translation in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, is the very earliest literary production of the Scottish Reformation, and in it we have a fair reflection of the special type of Christian evangelical doctrine developed in the preaching and writing of Luther and Melancthon. Residence with such men, however, not only aided Hamilton in attaining unto a stable and consistent system of doctrinal belief, it also stimulated his courage, and made him resolute in his purpose to profess without fear or flinching among his own people the truth which he had learnt to treasure as the saving truth of God. And so, after a short absence of six months, Hamilton returned to Scotland, and, in the autumn of A.D. 1527, he is found in the old family mansion of Kincavel, where his mother, eldest brother, and sister still remained. His first preaching was in the parish church of Binny, now joined to Linlithgow, in which Kincavel was situated, and here he had, in his own relatives and in many of the other parishioners, devout and interested listeners. The influence of the Lutheran doctrines spread all around, and the young preacher from day to day, in all the districts round about Linlithgow, proclaimed the gospel message of salvation by faith in Christ, and not by any magical power in the sacraments or by the merit of good works. It would seem that during this period, somewhere about the close of A.D. 1527, Hamilton married a young lady of noble rank. He had always refused to become a monk, and though titular abbot of Ferne, and drawing the revenues of that benefice, he was in a position which allowed him legally to marry. We find the name of a daughter, born after her father's death, mentioned in A.D. 1543 as that of one of the ladies of the court of the regent, the Earl of Arran.

Archbishop Beaton, residing at Dunfermline, heard of the preaching of Hamilton and the success which attended it. Owing to the powerful connections of the bold young reformer, the zealous prelate was obliged to proceed warily. He invited Hamilton in a seemingly friendly manner to a

conference in St. Andrews, apparently admitting the need of reformation in the church. Neither Hamilton nor his friends were in the least deceived by this measure. He had himself the conviction that he had not long to live, and all the members of his family pleaded with him not to trust himself to his crafty and relentless enemy. Yet he felt it his duty to go, that in St. Andrews he might have an opportunity of effectively proclaiming the truth, though this should be done by his death. He reached St. Andrews in the middle of January, A.D. 1528, and had a lodging provided for him by the archbishop. The conference went on calmly and quietly from day to day, and in order that Hamilton might be entrapped into saying what would give ample occasion of charge against him, every facility was given him for conversation and discussion. He taught and disputed openly in the university about matters of doctrine and worship which he deemed to be in need of reformation. Monks visited him and pretended anxiety on certain points, in order that they might act as informers at his trial. Among these the most prominent was Alexander Campbell, prior of the Dominican monastery, who afterwards acted as his principal assailant. One of the canons of the priory, however, Alexander Alane or Alesius, who began to come to Hamilton with the honest purpose of convincing him of his errors, was himself so impressed with the truth of scripture as presented by Hamilton that he embraced the Lutheran faith, and afterwards, with great difficulty escaping from St. Andrews, became a much valued teacher of theology in the universities of Germany. For a whole month Hamilton was allowed to preach in public, and to hold private interviews without restriction. At last he was summoned to appear before the primate on a charge of holding and teaching certain heresies. His friends urged him to fly, and it would seem that the archbishop wished that he would do so. All such counsels he calmly and deliberately laid aside. He had come to confirm the hearts of the godly, and his flight would be a stumbling block to them. His elder brother, who seems to have been with him

up to this time, seeing what was in store, retired to Kincavel, and used his authority as sheriff and captain of one the royal castles to assemble a force for the rescue of the prisoner, but was too late, owing to a storm that raged in the Firth. Beaton, on the other hand, was sure of the support of the young king, who, besides, was at this time in the far north, at Tain, on a pilgrimage, and of the Earl of Angus, for both the king and the earl were in need of his help. An accusation under thirteen heads, mostly of a doctrinal character, was brought against him, and after examination, he was allowed to continue at liberty. When, however, Beaton learnt that Sir James Hamilton had armed his men at Kincavel, and was preparing to deliver his brother by force, he saw that it was necessary to hasten matters. One night the castle guard surrounded Hamilton's lodging, and he was carried off to prison. The primate, with his nephew, David Beaton, abbot of Arbroath, Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, a notoriously vicious man, and a host of church dignitaries and doctors round about him, took his seat on the tribunal, and the process began. Friar Campbell read over his accusation, and sought to confute article by article. Hamilton answered successfully all the friar's questions and sophistries. His accuser then, denouncing him as a heretic, brought a great number of miscellaneous charges against him. In the minds of all zealous Romanists there could be no doubt of the guilt of heresy in one who refused to pray to Virgin and saints, condemned the use of images and denied the doctrine of purgatory. In due form the primate, with the consent of all his assessors, found him guilty of teaching divers opinions of Luther and wicked heresies—that children incontinent after their baptism are sinners, that no man is justified by works but by faith only, that good works make not a good man, but that a good man doth make good works, etc.—and that he obstinately maintained them, and therefore pronounced him a heretic to be condemned and punished. He was therefore sentenced to be deprived of all offices and benefices, and to be delivered over to the secular power to be punished, and to have his goods

confiscated. This sentence was pronounced on the last day of February, A.D. 1528. Warrant for execution was immediately obtained, the stake was prepared at the gate of St. Salvator's College, and about noon on the same day on which he was tried, the martyr walked forth to his doom. Through the bungling of the executioners, the fire burned irregularly, and death did not take place till about six o'clock in the evening, the execution having lasted for about six hours.

The martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, instead of striking terror everywhere as the persecutors hoped, awakened sympathy and enquiry. Knox quotes the saying of a companion of the Archbishop, "If ye will burn them, let them be burnt in hollow cellars, for the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton hath infected as many as it blew upon." Even in St. Andrews men began to enquire why Hamilton was burnt, whether his articles might not be defended, and in the university itself, chiefly through the influence of Gavin Logy and Wynram, the sub-prior, the vanity of superstition and the evil life of the bishops began to be discussed, and when a certain friar spoke against cursing and pretending to work miracles, the famous John Major declared that his doctrine could be well defended. Thus rapidly did the good seed, watered by a martyr's blood, bear fruit.

One of the Blackfriars of St. Andrews, Alexander Seaton, began to preach against the church traditions which had obscured the true word of God. He maintained that Christ Jesus is the end and perfection of the law, that there is no sin where God's law is not violated, and that to satisfy for sins lies not in men's power, but remission is through unfeigned repentance and by faith of God in Jesus Christ. Having severely censured the lives of the bishops, he aroused their bitter hatred and was saved only by the king's favour for him and his reputation for learning and holiness among the people. But when the king, offended at the friar's counsels about purity of life, was induced to sign his accusation, he fled to Berwick, and after in vain seeking from the king a safe conduct, and offering to return to stand a fair trial before His Majesty, he fled into England, and as chap-

lain to the Duke of Suffolk, preached the doctrines of the Reformation.

Henry Forrest, a Benedictine friar of Linlithgow, was suspected of heresy because he expressed sympathy with Patrick Hamilton and approval of his writings, and because he was found to have an English New Testament in his possession. He was seized soon after Patrick Hamilton's death and burnt at a stake erected at such a point that the fire could be seen from the opposite shores of Angus. Meanwhile the country was convulsed with civil wars between Douglas and Buccleugh, the Hamiltons and Lennox, the king and the Douglas. Hence it was not for about ten years, in A.D. 1534, that further victims for the truth of God were brought to the stake. David Straiton, of a good family in the Mearns, had been roused against the Scottish ecclesiastics and their arrangements by the greed of the Bishop of Moray, prior of St. Andrews, in claiming every tenth fish he caught, so that he threw all such fish back into the sea, saying that the bishop might fish them out for himself. He had learned the truth of the gospel from Erskine of Dun, and had frequently spoken against the corruptions of the church. Norman Gourlay, a secular priest, had married, had denied the doctrine of purgatory, and declared that the Pope was no true bishop, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland. These two men were condemned and put to death by burning in Greenside, at the foot of the Calton Hill, toward Leith, and in view of the opposite coasts of Fife, on 27th August, A.D. 1534.

In A.D. 1539, James Beaton died, and was succeeded in September of that year by his nephew, David, Abbot of Arbroath and Cardinal, who had long acted as his assistant and adviser. The new Primate inaugurated his accession by a vigorous persecution of heretics. Of those seized in the end of February, A.D. 1540, five were burned on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh. John Keillor, a Blackfriar, had produced a dramatic piece in which it was evident that under the figures of the Pharisees he had satirized the churchmen of the day, and Dean Thomas Forrest of Dollar had preached

every Sunday to the confusion of the idle bishops and had been remiss in claiming the dues which others had been greedily exacting. The easy, good-natured Bishop of Dunkeld counselled the Dean in a very kindly fatherly way not to be righteous over much to his own loss, and when he declared that he found nothing in the Old Testament or in the New that did not afford a good text for preaching, the bishop thanked God that he never knew what the Old Testament and the New Testament were, and that he knew nothing beyond his breviary and mass book. The Cardinal had something to do to stimulate the zeal of the prelates. Archbishop Gavin Dunbar of Glasgow, though not perhaps so easy as Crichton of Dunkeld, had no wish to be a persecutor; and so, in order to deal with heretics in the West, Beaton had to send to Glasgow to urge on the reluctant Archbishop, three of his own assistants, whom Knox fittingly calls "sergeants of Satan." Only under the threat of the ill-will of the cardinal and all the bishops if he refused, did Dunbar give his reluctant consent to the condemnation of Jerome Russel, a Greyfriar, and a young man of poetic genius, Thomas Kennedy from Ayr. In May of the same year, Beaton summoned a great gathering of nobles and churchmen to meet in the Cathedral Church of St. Andrews. From an elevated throne he addressed the large assembly on the danger suffered by the church from the spread of heresy. He pointed out one as an example of those who had been receiving far too much consideration at court and in high places. This was Sir John Borthwick, whose father had fallen at Flodden, and himself a favourite officer in the king's service. He is also said to have been provost of Linlithgow, and so he, as well as Henry Forrest, may have come personally under the influence of Patrick Hamilton at Kincavel. A bill of thirteen counts was presented against him as charge of heresy. He had declared against the Papal supremacy, indulgences, clerical celibacy, and said that the orders of monks and friars should be abolished. He was also charged with having in his possession and use the New Testament in English, and the

writings of Melancthon, Erasmus, Œcolampadius, etc. Well aware of the danger by which he was beset, he failed to appear and fled to England, and was employed by Henry VIII. in negotiations with the Protestant princes of Germany. In his absence he was condemned and his property confiscated; should he be caught he was to be burned, in the meantime he was burned in effigy. In A.D. 1561 this sentence was reversed, and the presiding judge on this occasion was John Wynram, the old sub-prior of St. Andrews, now superintendent, who had been one of the judges on the occasion of his condemnation.

The last two years of the life of King James V. were full of national disasters. His uncle, Henry VIII. of England, had now cast off the Papal authority, and once and again endeavoured to win over the Scottish king to deal as he himself had done with the ecclesiastical institutions and their remedies. To James, who was chronically in need of money, this, no doubt, was a very sore temptation. But he had thrown in his lot with the churchmen, and his whole policy was to depend upon the help of his clergy against his nobles. The crafty cardinal made it his business to strengthen the king's attachment to the Church, and to make himself indispensable in the royal counsels. Beaton was the sworn foe of England, and mainly under his influence James rejected all advances on the part of the English monarch, and refused to listen to any of the schemes proposed by Henry's ambassador. The humiliating and shameful defeat of the Solway Moss on 25th November, A.D. 1542, was the final blow which utterly broke the heart of the king, already crushed by misfortune and disappointment. In three weeks after the king was dead. He left the country much more seriously and dangerously divided than it had ever been before. The great majority of the nobles were in favour of an alliance with England, and it was only the power of the clergy, who felt that such an alliance would sooner or later bring about the overthrow of their church, that prevented its being effected. The struggle, therefore, immediately began between the nobles and the clergy.

Beaton was with the king in his dying hours, and at once after his death produced a document signed by the dying monarch, which declared that the government of the country during the infancy of the princess was to be in the hands of a regency consisting of four, of whom Beaton was to be the chief, having the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, and Moray associated with him. But notwithstanding all the efforts of the cardinal, the estates of the realm recognised the claims of the Earl of Arran, and acknowledged him as regent. Beaton was for a time put in prison, but soon by means of bribes he secured his restoration to his former place in St. Andrews. In the first parliament under the regent an important measure was passed making it lawful for any man to have a translation of the Old and New Testament and any other treatises containing sound doctrine. Negotiations were immediately entered into with England, and for a time it seemed as if the evil ascendancy of Beaton and his party had been overthrown. Unfortunately, however, Arran proved a weak man. He was overawed by the threatenings of the cardinal and the faction of the nobles attached to him, and was wrought upon especially by superstitious fears of ecclesiastical censure. He secretly withdrew himself from his own party at Holyrood, joined the cardinal at Stirling, obtained absolution, and promised to break with England and enter again into league with France. The regent was now a mere cipher, and the dominant figure in the whole government was Beaton, whose influence soon showed itself in the renewal of persecution. A proclamation was issued in the name of the governor, declaring that heresy was spreading to a dangerous extent, calling on prelates to make careful inquisition after heretics in their own dioceses, and promising to deal promptly with any cases that might be reported. In order to stimulate the energies of the churchmen, the cardinal, accompanied by the governor and other nobles and bishops, made an ecclesiastical progress to Perth where five persons, four men and one woman, the woman being the wife of one of the men, were cited to answer for ridiculing the saints of the church and refusing their worship and such

like practices. The men were hanged and the woman was drowned. This took place on 25th January, A.D. 1544. By such acts, as well as by his persistent harassing of all suspected of sympathy with the English party, Beaton had become the object of bitter hatred on the part of many, and these were already consulting as to how they might rid themselves of so dangerous an enemy. To none was he more obnoxious than to the king of England, and Henry seems to have directly encouraged plots against his life. Meantime, Henry did serious injury to his own cause by sending a well-appointed fleet of two hundred ships into the Forth, which landed troops at Leith on 3rd May, A.D. 1544. The English soldiers burned a great part of Edinburgh, and ravaged the country indiscriminately for miles round about, so that the retainers and property of the supporters of the English alliance suffered just as much as the party of the governor and cardinal. The consequence was that Angus, with many powerful noblemen and gentlemen of his faction, at once attached himself to Beaton, and as most of those who still adhered to the English league were known to be pensioners of Henry, the followers of the cardinal, who leant on the help of France, came to be regarded as the patriotic party. And thus in a very short time the hopes of the Protestants were blasted, and their persecutors were again in power, all the more anxious, because of the progress recently made by the professors of evangelical religion, to stamp out vigorously and without delay every trace of heresy. Beaton now took the opportunity of strengthening his castle of St. Andrews, and made himself thus to some extent independent both of England and of France.

The idea of removing the cardinal was not meanwhile lost sight of. One of the staunchest friends of England among the Scottish nobles was the earl of Cassilis. It would seem that he offered to kill the cardinal, if Henry would say that he wished it done and would promise a reward to him for doing it. This was what the English king wished above anything, but he scrupled to have his name associated with the deed as the instigator of it. As it was,

he preferred to try open war, which resulted only in temporarily strengthening the hands of those who had opposed his policy and the progress of the protestant reformation. And if only Beaton had been less savage in his treatment of those suspected of heresy, and had been content to exercise his powers as a politician, which undoubtedly were great, and for a time at least had remitted his zeal as a religious persecutor, he might probably have postponed the revolution which swept the Roman Catholic Church out of Scotland, and would almost certainly have escaped the tragical fate which was so soon to cut him off.

In May, A.D. 1544, Crichton of Brunston, in Midlothian, acting along with others, conceived a plot for the assassination of Beaton, and according to the record of the State Papers of Henry VIII., sent "a Scottishman named Wysshart" with letters to the Earl of Hertford and the king, revealing the plot, and seeking the protection of the English king to the conspirators. The suggestion that this conspirator was the famous martyr, George Wishart, though insisted upon by fanatical Romanists, and by Tytler and Hill Burton, is now emphatically set aside by all reputable historians. There is nothing in common between the two but the name, which at that very period was not an uncommon one in Scotland. If there had been any feasibility in it, it would certainly have been made prominent among the charges brought against the evangelical preacher; but on the occasion of his trial it was not even hinted at. The story of the school life of George Wishart will prove the best refutation of such a calumny.

Sprung from an old French family which had settled in the Mearns in the twelfth century, several members of which had held the highest positions in the state, George Wishart was born probably at Pitarrow, near Fordun, in A.D. 1513.* His father was Sir James Wishart of Pitarrow, a distinguished lawyer, and at the time of George's birth,

* One of the best and fullest accounts of Wishart may be seen in Scott, *The Martyrs of Angus and Mearns*, Paisley, 1885, pp. 99-209.

Lord Justice Clerk. Young Wishart studied at Aberdeen University under Hector Boece. But it was in the Grammar School of Montrose, under Pierre de Marsiliers, brought there by the liberal patron of learning, Erskine of Dun, that George Wishart learnt Greek. It was in this school and by this teacher that the Greek language was first taught in Scotland. This was the study to which Wishart gave his whole thought, and in A.D. 1538 we find him acting as colleague to his old master; and while he taught the language with enthusiasm, he also sought to inspire his pupils with a love for the evangelical doctrines of the New Testament, as he read with them the original text. This story reaching the ears of the cardinal, he caused Hepburn, bishop of Brechin, to summon the young schoolmaster on charge of heresy. Instead of answering the summons, Wishart quietly withdrew into England, and during A.D. 1539 he was resident in Bristol, where, under the patronage of Bishop Latimer of Worcester, who had given him license and some ecclesiastical appointment, he preached, and by his preaching attracted considerable attention. Strangely enough he fell into doctrinal error, declaring that Christ could not merit for us. It was, no doubt, the result of a violent recoil from the externalism of the Romish teaching, and the utterance of a strong ethical sense which had been outraged by the pernicious doctrine that righteousness could be bought and put on as something from without. Wishart was tried and convicted of this heresy in a court presided over by Archbishop Cranmer, and being convinced, he recanted, and henceforth preached according to the truth of the New Testament. His establishment in evangelical truth was largely brought about by his residence during the year 1540 on the continent, where he enjoyed the society of Bullinger and Calvin, and the influence upon him of the teaching of the Genevan reformer is shown by this, that he translated the First Helvetic Confession into his native language. In A.D. 1542 Wishart returned to England, and settled in Cambridge, where he exerted a powerful influence as a teacher. In the following year he went to London,

and returned to Scotland with the Commissioners who had been treating with the king for the marriage of his son to the Scottish Queen, one of these commissioners being a near relative of his own. In Montrose he immediately began to preach, expounding the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' creed. He then proceeded to Dundee, where he expounded the Epistle to the Romans, and his lectures caused great excitement, so that, in their zeal against the abuses of the church, the people destroyed some of the monasteries, and drove out the greedy indolent monks. The governor, Arran, who was now completely under the power of Beaton, ordered Wishart to leave Dundee, but still the reformer preached on. He was shielded by Sir John Scrymgeour, the provost, but when at last, in the name of the queen and the governor, he was formally inhibited, the preacher left the town, and went into Ayrshire, where the Wickliffites had so long found shelter and security. Here he enjoyed the friendship and protection of the Earl of Glencairn, and with great success preached in Ayr, Galston, Mauchline, and other parishes in Kyle. Soon after Wishart had left Dundee the plague broke out in that town, and when, in August, A.D. 1545, the young preacher heard that thousands were dying there of pestilence and famine, he hastened at once to the post of danger, which he felt to be the post of duty. The sick lay in booths outside the walls, and those not yet affected resided within. The preacher accordingly took his stand on the Portal of the East Gate or the Cowgate Port, so that he could address at once those within and those without. Taking as his text the words of the Psalmist, "He sent His word and healed them," he discoursed to the suffering and terrified people of God's mercy toward those who receive His word, and his judgments upon those who reject it. From day to day he visited the sick, brought comfort to them, and ministered to the needy of his means. Once at the close of his sermon a priest waited for him, clutching a dagger under his cloak, but Wishart seized his hand and prevented the murder which he had contemplated. With

great difficulty Wishart protected the wretched man from the rage of the multitude. Leaving Dundee the reformer made a short stay in Montrose, where he narrowly escaped falling into a trap devised by Beaton for his murder, and then passed on to Edinburgh to meet some of his Ayrshire friends who wished to bring about a public disputation between Wishart and the bishops. On his arrival he found that they had not come, and so under the protection of the lairds of Brunston, Longniddry, and Ormiston, he preached in several of the churches round about Edinburgh. Here he made some important additions to his following, especially Sir George Douglas of Pittenreich, brother of the Earl of Angus. When, however, he went to Haddington, the Earl of Bothwell, Beaton's friend, prevented the people from going to his preaching. Disappointed in his audience, Wishart was comforted by the counsel and sympathy of John Knox, tutor in the house of Douglas of Longniddry, whom he now met for the first and last time. As he went to Ormiston, the preacher was overpowered by a presentiment of impending evil. Knox wished to accompany him, but he bade him return to his pupils, saying "one is sufficient for a sacrifice." During the night, Bothwell, who had five hundred armed men in Elphinstone Tower in readiness if they should be needed, knocked at the gate of Ormiston House and demanded Wishart. The laird would have stoutly refused, but Wishart, trusting Bothwell's assurances that he would deliver him back to his friends in safety, insisted upon surrendering. After he had been for some little time moved hither and thither, he was at last given over into the hands of the cardinal, and in the end of January, A.D. 1546, he was committed to the dark gloomy dungeon of the Sea Tower at St. Andrews, where for four or five weeks he lay in irons awaiting his trial and the inevitable doom.

The proceedings against Wishart in the Abbey Church of St. Andrews on 28th February, A.D. 1546, began with a sermon by John Wynram, the sub-prior, already half-protestant. The accusation against Wishart consisted of eighteen

counts, in reply to which, so long as he was allowed to speak, the prisoner answered with moderation and conspicuous ability to the great annoyance and confusion of his enemies. He was immediately adjudged by the cardinal, the archbishop of Glasgow and the other dignitaries assembled, to be a heretic worthy of death, and was sentenced to be burned on the day following. The sub-prior conferred with him in his dungeon, and ventured his life by pleading with Beaton for his release. Refused by the cardinal the sacrament which Wynram would have dispensed to him, he himself dispensed it, and partook of the sacred elements with the Captain of the Castle and other well-disposed gentlemen. He spent the night in prayer and devout meditation. On the morning of 1st March, A.D. 1546, he was led forth to the stake, with a rope round his neck and his hands tied behind his back. The cannons of the castle were loaded and directed upon the place of execution in case a rescue might be attempted. The cardinal and the archbishop lolled on cushions laid upon the wall head, and feasted their eyes with the dying tortures of the martyr. It is commonly said that Wishart, looking to the cardinal, said—"He who in such state, from that high place, feedeth his eyes with my torments, within a few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now leaneth there in pride." And it has been argued by those who bear the martyr no good will that he must have been cognisant of a plot to assassinate his cruel persecutor. But it is noticeable that this statement does not appear in the earliest editions of Knox's history, nor in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, nor in the writings of Sir David Lindsay. The words have evidently been put into his mouth by some later writer, and were never uttered by him. All that he did say in this direction was that if the prelates were not converted from their wicked error, the wrath of God which they shall not eschew shall hastily come down upon them. When the fire was lighted a violent blast of wind drove the flames up around the victim, whose body was soon consumed to

powder. Unlike his predecessor, Patrick Hamilton, he was not long tormented in the fire.

By the burning of Wishart, and by his heartless and haughty conduct in the management of the trial and execution, Beaton, in the eyes of all sympathisers with the work of reformation, and of all lovers of national independence, had filled up the measure of his sins. Men now spoke out against him who had not spoken out before. On the morning of the 28th May, A.D. 1546, John Leslie, brother of the Earl of Rothes, Norman Leslie, son and heir of the Earl, William Kirkcaldy, younger of Grange, James Melville, and Peter Carmichael, secured entrance to the castle of St. Andrews, surprised the cardinal before he had left his room, and denouncing him as the murderer of God's servant, George Wishart, thrust him through with their swords, while he cried out—
“ I am a priest, I am a priest ; fie, fie, all is gone.”

Thus perished the first and last cardinal which Scotland has ever had, a man of great talents, but immoral and unscrupulous, and wanting in all the higher qualities of a leading statesman. Had his own life been noble and pure, had his influence been directed to the reforming of abuses within the church, his memory would have been embalmed in the history of his country as that of a good churchman and a true patriot. Being what he was and doing what he did, he wrecked ruinously the church that he sought to save, and left his country rent by discords deep and long enduring, and the legacy of a lifetime of evil doing for which his violent death was but a poor atonement.

CHAPTER IV.

*Knox and the Reformation.**

A.D. 1546—1572.

AFTER the death of Beaton the conspirators, twelve in number, remained in the castle of St. Andrews. Some of these men were undoubtedly actuated by the purest and most unselfish motives, fanatical, perhaps, but genuinely religious and patriotic; others were mere political adventurers and desperadoes, whose conduct was not restrained by any sanctions either of morality or religion. They were joined soon afterwards by a company of one hundred and forty men of the same mixed character, mostly from Fife, and they had as their chaplain John Rough, originally a Dominican friar, who had been one of the chaplains of the Regent Arran during the time that he professed attachment to the Protestant faith.

Meanwhile John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley and Bishop of Dunkeld, an illegitimate son of the late Earl of Arran, and therefore brother of the regent, was in 1547 elected archbishop of St. Andrews and metropolitan of Scotland. His character was at least as infamous as that of his predecessor. Though evidently devoid of all moral and religious principle, he was a skilful intriguer, consistently devoted to the interest of the Church, and determined vigorously to suppress

* Literature :—Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, in Works, Edin. 1846, Vols. I. and II. ; M'Crie, *Life of John Knox*, (1811), Edin. 1854 ; Hume Brown, *John Knox—a Biography*, 2 vols., Edin. 1895 ; Taylor Innes, *John Knox*, Edin., 1896 ; Lee, *Lectures on History of Church of Scotland*, Edin. 1860, Vol. I. ; *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stewart and James I.*, ed. by W. Forbes-Leith, Edin. 1885.

every movement in favour of reform either in Church or in State. In order that he might fully exercise his archiepiscopal functions, it was necessary that he should reside in St. Andrews, but the dislodgment of those who now held the Castle was found to be a task that could not easily or speedily be executed.

The leading conspirators received rewards in money from the king of England, and as the castle could be approached from the sea, English ships were sent to supply the garrison with provisions. This enabled those within the castle to hold out till the end of the year. It would seem that the castle party had soon dominated the town population, and that those composing the garrison by no means confined themselves to their fortifications, but went out and mingled freely with the citizens. Many of them gave loose reins to their passions, and behaved in such a violent and licentious way as to bring the whole company to which they belonged into disrepute. So recklessly wicked and riotous did their behaviour become, that Rough, finding his exhortations scoffed at and all his labours in vain, left the castle and devoted himself to the evangelizing of the town's folk. A truce had been agreed to between the Regent's party and those in the castle, and in the meantime the one was looking to France and the other to England for help. During the early months of A.D. 1547, Rough was engaged in discussion with Dean Annand, a narrow-minded bigoted Papist, but one who in dialectical subtlety and skill as a debater was more than a match for the zealous and true-hearted, but not thoroughly educated preacher.

At this time the holders of the castle received a most important addition to their number. According to his own account, it was at Easter A.D. 1547, that John Knox, along with his pupils, two sons of the laird of Longniddry and a son of the laird of Ormiston, entered the castle, and threw in his lot with those who were holding it against the Government. Wearied with the constant persecution which he had endured from the archbishop of St. Andrews and with incessant moving from place to place, he had intended to

leave Scotland and visit the schools of Germany, but was entreated by the parents of his pupils to go to St. Andrews and in the shelter afforded by the castle continue the instruction of the youths. Knox was now in his forty-second year, having been born in A.D. 1505, probably in the small parish of Morham, in the immediate vicinity of Haddington. He was sent in his seventeenth year to Glasgow, where in A.D. 1522 he matriculated in the university and studied under the famous John Major, whose severely scholastic method had a lifelong influence upon him. Knox continued to be much more of the schoolman than any of the other great reformers. After teaching for a time with success in St. Andrews, he was ordained, probably not later than A.D. 1530. By and by his lectures began to show the influence of evangelical teaching, so that for a number of years he lay under the suspicion of heresy, and was watched by Beaton, until he found it necessary to withdraw to the south of Scotland. The cardinal now degraded him and stripped him of his priest's orders, and employment and protection were afforded him by his reception into the house of the laird of Longniddry as teacher of his sons. Here in the immediate neighbourhood of his own native place, Knox met with Wishart in the beginning of A.D. 1546, and was already so firmly established in the truth of the reformed faith that he was with difficulty dissuaded from accompanying the victim marked out for martyrdom and sharing his fate. During the time of his residence at Longniddry, he was in the habit of giving publicly in the church of Haddington the religious instruction and expositions of Scripture which he had prepared for his scholars.

When Knox entered the castle of St. Andrews he continued his regular course of instruction with his boys, and gave the public the privilege of hearing his catechising and expounding of the divine word. He found that Rough was overweighted in his discussions with Annand, and so he came to the aid of the reformer by publishing elaborate and crushing rejoinders to the subtle and plausible statements of the Popish champion. Rough and the other leaders of the

reformed party in St. Andrews, including Henry Balnaves and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, at once perceived that they had among them a man of no ordinary stamp. Acting upon the commission of the rest, Rough preached on Sabbath on the nature and sacredness of the call to the ministry by a congregation, and concluded by an appeal to Knox to accept the call which there and then the people of God worshipping in the church of St. Andrews were prepared unanimously to give him. With great reluctance, under a deep sense of responsibility, and after days of prayer and meditation in solitude, Knox felt that he dared not refuse the call. In his first sermon on Daniel vii., 24-27, he defined the true church, and showed what its notes or characteristics are, and then pointed out the corruptions of antichrist, which is contrary to Christ in life, doctrine, laws and subjects. In conclusion, he appealed to all present, among whom were John Major, the sub-prior John Wynram, many canons and priors, both Franciscan and Dominican, to say whether any of his proofs from Scripture and the fathers were not strictly accurate. At the instigation of the archbishop, who had sharply reproved the sub-prior, now acting as vicar-general, for his remissness in tolerating such heretical preaching, Wynram was obliged to summon Rough and Knox to a convention at which he proposed to discuss certain articles with them. He summed up in nine articles the propositions which Knox was said in his preaching to have maintained in opposition to the teaching of the Catholic church. The doctrine of Knox was set forth under these nine heads: 1, No mortal man can be head of the Church; 2, The Pope is an antichrist, and so is no member of Christ's mystical body; 3, Man may neither make nor devise a religion that is acceptable to God, but man is bound to observe and keep the religion that from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof; 4, The sacraments of the New Testament ought to be administered as they were instituted by Christ Jesus, and preached by his Apostles: nothing ought to be added to them, nothing ought to be diminished from them;

5, The mass is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's Supper; 6, There is no purgatory, in the which the souls of men can either be pined or purged after this life, but heaven resteth to the faithful, and hell to the reprobates and unfaithful; 7, Praying for the dead is vain and to the dead is idolatry; 8, There is no bishop, except he preach ever by himself, without any substitute; 9, The tithes by God's law do not appertain of necessity to the churchmen. On these points of doctrine, which indicate very clearly what the Scottish reformers repudiated and what they maintained, a discussion was carried on under Wynram's direction by Arbuckle, a Greyfriar. Among other foolish things, the friar declared that the gold, silver and precious stones built on the good foundation were the Church ceremonies, and explained the absence of all reference to these ceremonies in the Apostolic Epistles by the strange hypothesis that when the Apostles wrote the Epistles they had not received the Spirit, and that after receiving the Spirit they ordained the ceremonies. This astounding statement called forth the rebuke of the superior, who cried; "Father, what say ye? God forbid that ye affirm that; for then farewell the ground of our faith."

Terrified by the success of the Protestant preaching, the Romish party determined to have the pulpit of the parish church occupied every Sabbath by learned men of the Abbey and University so as to exclude Knox and other preachers of the new doctrines. But Knox was all the busier preaching every week day, so that he gathered a great congregation and dispensed the communion not only to those within the castle but to a large number of the town's people as well. The Queen and her party were enraged and roused by what they heard of these proceedings, and urged their French allies to come speedily to their help. On the 29th of June there appeared before St. Andrews twenty-one French gallies, which made no impression on town or castle, and themselves sustained serious loss, until on 23rd July the Regent's land forces joined the fleet, and the castle was be-

sieged on every side. All the while Knox spoke to them after the manner of Jeremiah. He felt convinced that because of their corrupt life and licentiousness God would not help them, their thick walls would be like egg shells, England would fail them, and they would be carried away into a strange country. After a violent cannonade on July 30th, beginning at five in the morning and lasting till about eleven o'clock, the defences of the castle were found to be so utterly destroyed and so many of the garrison slain, that on the following day a surrender was made on the condition that all lives should be saved, that they should be sent to France, and that, should they not be satisfied with the terms of service offered them by the king, they should be sent to any country, other than Scotland, which they might desire. They were all thus taken on board the French galleys, and in November, after a long voyage, during which they encountered many dangers, they reached Fecamp, and sailed up the Seine to Rouen. In this city, instead of freedom, imprisonment was the lot of the chief of the Scottish gentlemen, while those kept in the galleys were barbarously used. John Knox was in the galleys all the winter. The King of France and the Regent of Scotland were thanked by the pope for the way in which they had avenged the cardinal's death, and urged to continue with rigour and severity as they had begun.

From Rouen the galleys went to Nantz, and lay in the river Loire all winter. Some of the prisoners ashore were afterwards taken to Mount St. Michel, and were subjected to much hardship and to many sufferings because they refused to go to mass. Those in the galleys were asked on one occasion to kiss a painted lady, the picture of the Virgin on a board, "and a Scotsman," says Knox, probably himself, "when the board was violently thrust into his hands, threw it into the river, saying, Let our Lady now save herself, she is light enough, let her learn to swim." We do not wonder to hear that after this no Scotsman was urged to take part in that idolatry. The prisoners on land managed to make their escape, and after long wandering in disguise,

and after manifold adventures, they reached England early in A.D. 1549, where they found Knox, who, with others of the galley slaves, had that winter, after eighteen months of exile, been set at liberty. He remained in England five years, busily engaged in assisting the reformers with the preparation of their church services, and preaching the gospel in Berwick and Newcastle, and afterwards in London and Kent. In A.D. 1551 he was appointed one of the royal chaplains, and in the end of A.D. 1552 he was offered and, much to Cecil's annoyance, declined the bishopric of Rochester. Some months after the beginning of Queen Mary's reign in A.D. 1553, he was obliged to leave England and to pass over to Geneva. After living there privately for a while, pursuing his studies under the eyes of John Calvin, he received a call from the English congregation meeting at Frankfort in the autumn of A.D. 1544, which, with considerable reluctance, he accepted. The Protestant community there, however, suffered greatly from controversies about ritual and ceremonies, and the Puritan party, to which Knox had attached himself, and of which he was the recognised leader, were beaten, and Knox was driven away by the cowardly device of the ritualistic minority. Knox was accused of treason against the Emperor and the English sovereign Queen Mary, for having said of the one that he was little better than Nero, and of the other that she was more cruel than Jezebel. The magistrates of Frankfort, fearing that they might not be able to defend him, urged his withdrawal from the city. His principal Puritan coadjutors left Frankfort for Geneva, where they established a congregation, but Knox himself in August, A.D. 1555, paid a visit to Scotland, travelling from Geneva by way of Dieppe.

The ignorance and degradation of the Romish priests had now become notorious. Many of them scarcely knew the alphabet. It was felt by the more intelligent of the prelates that something must be done to rescue if possible the church services from the contempt into which they had fallen. Archbishop Hamilton seemed to think that the

dangers which threatened the church would pass away if only some of the more patent faults of the churchmen were removed. Accordingly he published in 1552 a Catechism for the guidance of the clergy. It was written in the Scottish dialect, and was appointed to be recited, when there was no competent priest present, for half an hour before Mass. It was to be read through consecutively without omission or addition, and without comment of any kind, and no controversy was on any account to be allowed. In order to avoid making themselves ridiculous by blundering, the priests were to read it over carefully beforehand. It was not to be communicated to laymen, except in a few special cases at the discretion of the bishops. This work, however, does not seem to have exerted any considerable influence, and soon every trace of the book disappeared.*

In the meantime some progress was being made in the work of reformation in Scotland. During the reign of Edward VI. several Scottish protestants had sought refuge in England, and on his death in A.D. 1553, many of these returned to their native country to escape the violence of his successor. Among these were William Harlaw and John Willock, the former not very learned, but able and zealous, and a most effective preacher of the gospel; the latter a man of great learning and talent, who greatly assisted Knox in drawing up the first Scottish Form of Church Government. These two did much in the way of building up little protestant congregations, and encouraging those who loved the gospel. They were warmly supported by John Erskine of Dun, a landed proprietor in Forfarshire, afterwards a Superintendent in the Reformed Church, and a life-long earnest and intelligent supporter of the evangelical cause.

When Knox arrived in Edinburgh he gave exhortations in the house in which he lodged, which were attended by the laird of Dun, Maitland of Lethington, John Willock,

* See, *The Catechism of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1552*, edited by T. Graves Law, Librarian of Signet Library, Oxford, 1884, with Prefatory Note by Mr. Gladstone.

and others. He found that many of those who were zealous and sincere in their profession of the evangelical faith did not scruple to go to mass, using, among other pleas, the case of Paul, who, at the bidding of James and the elders, went to the temple and feigned the keeping of a vow. Knox maintained that the mass was idolatry, and not like a vow which might be of God, but further, he did not scruple to say that he did not regard James' advice and Paul's conduct as proceeding from the Spirit, but as a scheme of their own which brought Paul afterwards into trouble. This led Erskine and his friends boldly to avoid from this time onward giving any countenance to Romish doctrines and ceremonies. Knox now went with Erskine to Dun, and spent a month in preaching the gospel throughout the surrounding district. After this he was in Calder and other places round about Edinburgh, where several noblemen, and among them the young prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the good Earl of Moray, listened to his teaching, and wished to have it made public. He was also busily engaged, especially in Ayrshire, preaching and dispensing the sacrament of the Lord's Supper., in the houses of Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, Lord Ochiltree, the Earl of Glencairn, and other gentlemen attached to the interests and principles of the gospel.

The success of Knox was so great that the clergy became alarmed, and persuaded the Queen Regent to summon him to appear at the church of the Black Friars on the 15th of May to answer a charge of heresy. This Knox was very willing to do, but as his friends marshalled in large numbers in Edinburgh, the court was never held, and on the day on which he should have been tried he preached openly in Edinburgh to a more than usually crowded assembly. At the suggestion of some of the well-affected nobles, he put the arguments, which they had thought unanswerable in his preaching, in an epistle, and sent it to Mary of Guise, under the title: *The Letter to the Queen Dowager*. After reading it she handed it to James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, with the mocking words: "Please you, my lord, to read a

pasquil." This treatment of his letter only led Knox to write it again with additions, in which he spoke his mind very freely as to what the end would be of the wicked and crafty policy which she was then pursuing.

While everything seemed promising, and success was attending the ministry of Knox everywhere, he surprised his friends by announcing his intention of at once returning to Geneva. The little congregation there had written him insisting that as their pastor he should come to them immediately for their comfort. Accordingly, he left Scotland for Geneva in July, A.D. 1556. He was no sooner gone than his enemies summoned him, and, in his absence, condemned him as a heretic, and burned his effigy at the stake. This afforded Knox an opportunity, of which he soon availed himself, of writing one of his most important works: "The Appelation of John Knox from the cruel and most unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishops and clergy of Scotland, with his supplication and exhortation to the Nobility, States, and Commonality of the same realm. 1558." He appealed to a General Council lawfully summoned and constituted after the ancient manner. Meanwhile his friends in Scotland had written him to Geneva urging his speedy return. On the advice of Calvin and other godly friends, he resolved to obey this call, and accordingly, in September, A.D. 1557, he left Geneva and went to Dieppe, but while waiting here for a vessel to carry him home, he received a letter from the leaders of the Scottish reformed party urging him to wait where he was. They had become afraid lest, by pushing matters hastily, they might lose the advantages and liberties which they possessed. On 27th October he answered by a letter in which he expresses himself with some natural indignation about their faintheartedness. This had a good effect upon the nobles and friends of the gospel in Scotland in stirring them up and arousing enthusiasm, and so, on 3rd December, 1557, Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Erskine of Dun, and a great number of influential and earnest men in Edinburgh, signed a Covenant, promising continually to apply their

whole power, substance, and their very lives to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his congregation, and to forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitions, abominations, and idolatry thereof, and to declare themselves manifestly enemies thereto.

The archbishop of St. Andrews, having tried diplomacy with the nobles who favoured reformation, and having failed in his endeavours, had recourse once more to those violent methods which have made his name well-nigh as infamous as that of his predecessor. His victim was an aged priest, Walter Miln of Lunan,* on the Forfarshire coast, between Arbroath and Montrose. He was already in his fiftieth year, when, in A.D. 1526, he was presented to the vicarage of Lunan by David Beaton, abbot of Arbroath. Suspected of heresy by his patron, he was driven into exile shortly before the cardinal's death in A.D. 1546, after serving in his cure for about twenty years. After residing for a time among the Lollards of Kyle, he went to Germany, returning to Scotland in A.D. 1556. He was now married and had several children. The temporary clemency of the Regent, and the toleration extended to the reformed preachers in other parts of the land, so far deceived Miln that he ventured too near the seat of the archbishop in St. Andrews. While at Dysart his movements were watched by popish spies, and he was apprehended on the charge of heresy, and thrown into the dungeon of the castle of St. Andrews. On the 20th of April, A.D. 1558, this blameless man, now in his eighty-second year, was brought forth in the Abbey Church to answer the charge, before the archbishop, the bishops of Moray, Brechin, Caithness, and Galloway, the abbots of Lindores, Dunfermline, Balmerino, and Cupar, Wynram, doctor of theology, and other dignitaries and friars. He answered the bullying interrogations of his accuser in a clear voice, and with great decision and evident conviction.

* The best and fullest account of Walter Miln is to be found in Scott: *Martyrs of Angus and Mearns*, Paisley, 1885, pp. 210-271.

When condemned to the stake, he said :—"Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth. I am corn, I am no chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flails, but I will abide both." At the stake he said :—"I am four score and two years old, and cannot live long by the course of nature; but a hundred better than I shall arise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust in God I shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." Thus, on the 28th April, A.D. 1558, died the last Scottish martyr put to death in the struggle between Romanism and Protestantism. His blameless character, his firm resolution amid the frailties of extreme old age, his calm confidence in God, and his simple faith in holy scripture, so impressed the people that his execution was mightily helpful in promoting the cause of the gospel.

About the middle of December, A.D. 1557, commissioners were appointed to go to Paris to represent the government and the country at the marriage of the young Queen to the Dauphin of France. The marriage was celebrated on the 24th April, A.D. 1558. The commissioners would not go in the least beyond the letter of their instruction, and apparently gave offence to the uncles of the young Queen. At Dieppe, on their way home, Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, the Earls of Cassilis and Rothes, and Lord Fleming, died, "whether it was by an Italian posset, or French figs, or by the pottage of their apothecary," no man can tell; and only the archbishop of Glasgow, Lord Seton, Erskine of Dun, and Lord James, afterwards Earl of Moray, returned home.

Meanwhile in Scotland the cause of reform became so popular that men with no heart for the gospel began to preach in an evangelical way. John Sinclair, whom Knox characterizes as a perfect hypocrite, and whom he describes as blind of one eye in the body, but of both in the soul, dean of Restalrig, and afterwards Lord President and bishop of Brechin, preached so that the godly had a good opinion of him, but when the friars began to murmur, he renounced all the evangelical doctrines he had taught, and affirmed all

the corruptions and superstitions of the Romish Church. An attempt was even made to reform the church from within. But it came too late, and it was neither thorough nor sincere. At a Provincial Synod in Edinburgh, which began its sittings in March, 1558, and continued till April, 1559, a petition was presented in favour of very moderate reforms, and canons were passed against clerical immorality, requiring that priests be decently attired, that bishops preach at least four times a year, parish priests oftener if able, and if not, those under fifty must go to school to learn, and those above fifty must provide a substitute, that instruction be given in doctrine, especially about the sacraments. In fulfilment of this last-named provision, a little manual in the form of a four page tract, *A Godly Exhortation on the Eucharist*, to be read before the administration of the sacrament by the priest, commonly called the "TwoPenny Faith," containing a short explanation of the commandments, the creed, and the Lord's Prayer, was brought into general use. The decision come to by this synod, however, was in effect a stubborn refusal to make any real concession to the demands of *the Congregation*, as the reforming party was then called, and the Queen Regent followed this up by a proclamation demanding uniformity in worship, and insisting that all should resort daily to the mass or confession. The principal preachers of the protestants were summoned to appear at Stirling on 10th May, 1559, to answer a charge of heresy, and in obedience to this summons, John Willock, William Harlaw, and the other ministers, accompanied by a large number of gentlemen friendly to the cause from Fife and Angus, gathered together in Perth. There they remained, while Erskine of Dun went forward to hold conference with the Queen Dowager in Stirling, and to assure her that the multitude of the company did not mean any menace to her, but only encouragement to the ministers. But she, fearing the numbers and influential character of the party, urged the laird of Dun to prevent them going to Stirling, and gave him the assurance that gentler measures would be de-

vised. Completely deceived by her fair words, Erskine advised the ministers not to appear, and to this advice they very reluctantly consented. When on the day appointed the ministers did not appear, though acting on the Queen Regent's counsel, they were outlawed and declared guilty of treason. In consequence of the treatment which he had thus received, Erskine of Dun withdrew from his position at court, and returned to his friends to consider what should be done.

While the ministers and their friends were at Dundee, preparing to go to Perth, they were joined by John Knox, whose presence greatly strengthened their counsels. He had reached Edinburgh on the 2nd May, 1559, and now he went forward with the company to Perth, where he continued preaching until the decree of outlawry against the ministers was published. The irritation caused by the deceitful and cruel conduct of the Regent inflamed the passions of the people to such a degree that neither preachers nor magistrates could restrain them from destroying buildings and throwing out vessels and implements which had been used in idolatrous rites. While the people were in this inflammable condition, a priest was foolhardy enough, immediately after a sermon by John Knox, to proceed to the celebration of mass, opening up a glorious tabernacle that stood on the high altar. A boy threw a stone at the priest, which broke an image; whereupon the whole crowd began to shower stones, till the building itself had been completely wrecked. Having thus begun, they rushed forth, not the gentlemen nor the earnest professors, but the rascal multitude, to the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars, which were stored with an amazing supply of provisions and rich furnishings, and having demolished the buildings, they distributed the spoil among the poor, and so little were they actuated by covetous motives that they even allowed the monks to carry off what valuables they could take.

The Regent was greatly enraged when she heard what had been done in Perth, and resolved that she would raze the

city to the ground and sow it with salt in sign of perpetual desolation. And this was no mere idle threat of an angry woman. She took measures for carrying out her purpose. The congregation addressed letters to the Regent and her counsellors, assuring them that if oppression was continued they would resist to the uttermost, and that they would maintain their liberty with their lives. But it was only when she found that Perth was well defended and that Glencairn and Ochiltree, with other gentlemen from the West, had brought a well trained force of 2500 men, that the Queen Regent sent Argyle and Lord James, prior of St. Andrews, with offers of conciliation. The conditions of the treaty were these: No person should be charged for changing his religion or being engaged in the recent destruction of ecclesiastical buildings; no obstacle should be placed against the progress of the reformed religion, and when she left Perth no French soldiers should be left behind. Meanwhile all the members of the congregation, including Argyle and Lord James, bound themselves together under a solemn covenant to act in harmony should the terms of this treaty be violated to the injury of the party or of any individual adherent of the party. As many had feared, the treaty was not kept; the service of the mass was restored, and soldiers in the pay of France were left to garrison the city on the Regent's departure. The queen boldly declared that princes must not be strictly tied to the keeping of their promises. In consequence of this, Lord James, the Earls of Argyle and Monteith, Lord Ruthven, and the laird of Tullibardine left Perth with their followers, and told the Queen plainly that they did so because of her tyrannical proceedings.

Knox had meanwhile proceeded to Crail and Anstruther. In both these places, and in Cupar, the people had begun the demolition of altars and images. It was arranged that Knox should preach in St. Andrews on Sunday, and already Argyle, Lord James, the lairds of Dun and Pitarrow, the provost of Dundee, and other leading members of the congregation had assembled in that city. The archbishop, hearing of Knox's intentions, and fearing the result upon

the people, tried to intimidate him. He sent this message: that should Knox attempt to preach, he would be saluted with a dozen of culverins whereof the most part should light upon his nose. The gentlemen were unsupported by retainers, and therefore hesitated to expose Knox to such danger, but the intrepid preacher declared his determination in the face of all threatenings to deliver the message which he had received. Accordingly he preached, discoursing on the ejection of the buyers and sellers from the temple, making application of his subject very pointedly to the circumstances of the time, and insisting upon the duty of magistrates to remove monuments of idolatry. It is not to be wondered at that an excited multitude went beyond what was required, and wrecked buildings which might have been reserved for a better use. It was certainly necessary that altars, images, and such like things, that were in their very nature abhorrent to all who were possessed of the evangelical spirit, should be utterly destroyed; but as for the reckless destruction of architectural masterpieces, the English in the previous generation and Philistines in much later ages have much more to answer for in that way than even the rascal multitude, let alone John Knox and the other leaders, lay or clerical, in the Reformation age.

After this the churchmen and the Regent formed a close combination and obtained large reinforcements from France, and it became necessary for the lords of the congregation to secure substantial help from England. The English Queen Mary had died in November A.D. 1558, and her successor, the Protestant princess Elizabeth, was naturally inclined to favour the Scottish Protestants, especially in their antagonism to the French, whose policy it was, in combination with the Catholics of Scotland, to oust her from the throne. Knox, however, by his *Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, had given great offence, so that when he was waiting at Dieppe, and had asked a passport that he might travel to Scotland through England, it was refused. The *Blast* was indeed intended to apply to Mary of Guise, but undoubtedly it contained a vehement

denunciation of all female government, and Knox's attempt to prove to Elizabeth that it by no means applied to her, though cleverly done, must be pronounced rather sophistical, and no doubt, at this particular juncture, he and his friends devoutly wished that this blast of the trumpet had never been sounded.

Important accessions were now made to the ranks of the congregation. The Earl of Arran, returning through England from France, joined the Protestant party, and with him his father the Duke of Chastelherault. Notwithstanding the Regent's endeavours to breed jealousy between the Duke and Lord James, by representing to each that the other was an aspirant to the throne, the party continued to grow and prosper, and on 21st October, 1559, a meeting of the nobles, barons and burgesses was held in Edinburgh for the purpose of deposing Mary from the regency. Her deposition was unanimously agreed to, and she was required, with all her French soldiers, to leave Leith within twenty-four hours. The army of the congregation, which had to endeavour to enforce these conditions, was quite inadequate to the enterprise. Though it numbered some twelve thousand men, pay was far in arrears, and there were traitors among them, and divided counsels made the task of leading the motley crew an impossible one. The attempt to dislodge the French from Leith signally failed, and the conflict was transferred to Fife. While engaged in doubtful skirmishing, an English fleet appeared in the Frith on 23rd January, 1560, and by the 6th of April the English army had effected a conjunction with the army of the Congregation, and Leith was invested by sea and land. By the 7th of May it seemed as if victory was within the grasp of the combined forces. The French had been driven from the walls, but, when the scaling ladders went up, they were found to be too short. The garrison soon rallied, and beat off their assailants with terrible slaughter. The Queen Regent had meanwhile withdrawn into the Castle of Edinburgh, and looked upon the defeat of the English and Scottish soldiers with exuberant delight. When the French-

men in the garrison barbarously hung out the naked bodies of their enemies on the walls of Leith, the Regent looked on with pleasure and said : “ Yonder is the fairest tapestry that ever I saw ; I would that the whole fields betwixt this place and yonder were strewed with the same stuff.”

On the 10th of June, Mary of Guise died in Edinburgh Castle, after expressing to the Lords of the Congregation her sorrow for having allowed herself to be misled and alienated from her best friends. All parties were now desirous of peace, and a treaty was concluded and peace proclaimed at Edinburgh on 8th July, 1560. During the following week the French and English armies withdrew, and on 19th July a public thanksgiving was held in St. Giles, when Knox and other reformed preachers gave voice to the national gratitude for the deliverances which they had experienced.

The great event of this eventful period was the convening of parliament, which, meeting on 16th July, was adjourned till 1st August, in the hope that by that time a commission might have arrived from the Queen. On its assembling after this adjournment, it was found that no commission had come, yet it was resolved to proceed on the ground that the treaty afforded sufficient warrant for this meeting. A petition from the barons, gentlemen, and burgesses was presented to the nobility and states of parliament assembled, craving the abolition of idolatry and punishment of transgressors, that remedy should be found against the wrong administration of sacraments, and those who had misused the discipline of the church, and that the hitherto misappropriated patrimony of the church should be applied to the support of the true ministry of the word of God, the providing of schools, and the relief of the poor. This last point, which was rather alluded to than distinctly demanded as a reform, would certainly be unpalatable to the needy nobles and barons, who meant to replenish their exhausted treasuries from the rich revenues of the church. Meanwhile, it was resolved that a summary of the evangelical doctrine, under distinct heads, should be drawn up, and a

committee, of whom, evidently, Knox was the leading spirit, proceeded with the preparation of a Confession of Faith. This was a subject upon which they were all agreed, and four days was all the time found necessary for the composition of this important document. It consists of twenty-five articles, and is based solely on the Word of God, so that in the preface a challenge is given to anyone who finds anything in it contrary to Scripture, and a promise either to disprove the charge or make correction. The Confession was read first of all in the audience of the Lords of the Articles, a committee which prepared matters for coming before the House, and then, in the audience of the whole parliament. The bishops present said nothing in opposition to the articles, as one by one they were again laid before the House, though the protestant ministers were present to answer any objections which might be offered. Only the Earl of Athol and the Lords Somerville and Borthwick said, "We will believe as our fathers believed." The silence of the bishops led the Earl Marischal, and probably others as well, to throw in their lot with the Congregation, and to accept the form of doctrine represented by the Confession as the truth of Scripture, seeing that the most learned and skilful of the opposite party could not gainsay it.

The arrangement of topics in this old Scottish Confession is simple, and determined more by historical sequence than by any logical or systematic principle. It may be divided into two general portions. The first division embraces twelve chapters, and in the arrangement of these a purely historical order is observed:—1. Of God; 2. Of the Creation of Man; 3. Of Original Sin (treating of Adam's fall, hereditary guilt, and regeneration by the Spirit of God); 4. The Revelation of the Promises; 5. The Continuance of the Church; 6. The Incarnation of Jesus Christ; 7. The Mediator—very God and very Man; 8. Election (our election in Christ, His brotherhood with man, what the manhood and Godhead in our Saviour, severally and combined, effect); 9. Christ's Death, Passion, and Burial; 10. Resurrection; 11. Ascension; 12. Faith in the Holy Ghost. The

second division embraces thirteen chapters, and here the arrangement or order is doctrinal rather than historical, and is dominated by a polemical attitude towards Romanism:— 13. The Cause of Good Works; 14. What Works are reputed good before God; 15. The Perfection of the Lord and the Imperfection of Man; 16. Of the Church; 17. Of the Immortality of the Soul (evidently suggested by what was said of the Church triumphant); 18. Of the Notes by which the true Church is discerned from the false, and who shall be Judge of the Doctrine (owing to the circumstances of the nation and age, this subject is treated with great care and unusual minuteness); 19. The Authority of the Scriptures; 20. Of General Councils, of their power, authority, and cause of their convention; 21-23. Of the Sacraments, of their right administration, of those to whom they appertain; 24. Of the Civil Magistrates; 25. Of the Gifts freely given to the Church.*

This Confession of Faith was ratified by Parliament on 17th August, 1560. It is in harmony with the formularies of the continental Reformed Churches, but is remarkable for its avoidance of abstract technical theological terms. Its style was, no doubt, determined largely by the fact that it had to be presented to and accepted by an assembly of noble and dignified, but comparatively illiterate men, and that simplicity and directness were necessary to ensure its being understood and approved.

The next important task assigned to the ministers was the drawing up of a constitution for the new church. The parliament had, by a decree of 24th August, abolished the mass and renounced the authority and jurisdiction of the pope. It was necessary, therefore, to define the authority

* For a very full and interesting exposition of the Scottish Confession, see Principal Lee's *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1860: Vol. I., pp. 106-135. It has also been discussed in a most thorough and instructive manner by the late Professor Mitchell in his recent Baird Lectures, *The Scottish Reformation: its Epochs, Episodes, Leaders, and Distinctive Characteristics*. Edinburgh, 1900: Chap. vi., pp. 99-122.

and jurisdiction of the Protestant Church as now constituted. Six ministers were appointed to prepare a Book of Church Order—John Knox, John Wynram, John Spottiswoode, John Willock, John Douglas, and John Row. The Parliament having been dissolved, the committee had its commission from the Privy Council, and this commission was dated 29th April, 1560. The document which they drew up is called “The First Book of Discipline.” It was ready on 20th May, and was then shown to some of the nobles and carefully read by them. Some of them were willing and anxious that it should be ratified by Parliament, that so it might obtain legal sanction. Very many of the nobles, however, had already appropriated, or had marked out for future appropriation, large portions of church lands and revenues, and so they could not brook the proposal to distribute the wealth among the ministers, the schoolmasters, and the poor. Some too were licentious, and feared to have their carnal liberty restricted. All such denounced the proposals of the book as devout imaginations. It was never formally approved by Parliament, but was signed by the Duke of Chastelherault, the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Rothes, Morton, Glencairn, Lord James, and a large number of the reforming nobles and gentlemen. It was finally approved by the General Assembly of A.D. 1581, and placed among the Acts of the Kirk.

The First Book of Discipline consists of sixteen chapters :—1. Of Doctrine, enjoining the preaching of the Gospel and the repressing of all that is contrary to it. 2. Of the sacrament. 3. Of abolishing idolatry—*i.e.*, the mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images, etc. 4. Of ministers and their lawful election. 5. Provision for the ministers and distribution of rents and possessions justly appertaining to the church. Here we have a most remarkable and enlightened scheme for the sustenance of ministers and provision for their widows and orphans; also a scheme for relief of the poor, not for idle and stubborn beggars who make a craft of their begging, whom the magistrate should compel to work or punish, but

for the widow or fatherless, the aged, impotent or lamed, and such as have honestly fallen into decay and poverty; and further, salaries must be given to the teachers of youth. It was this appropriation of ecclesiastical revenues for truly national purposes that the needy and greedy nobles could not brook. 6. Of superintendents—the difference betwixt preachers was to be only *for a time*, because qualified ministers were few, and the men itinerating gave many places the benefit of their ministry, while also they might advise and encourage those whose knowledge and experience were small. There were ten districts or dioceses over which superintendents were to be appointed:—(1) Orkney, Shetland, Caithness, Strathnaver, with residence at Kirkwall; (2) Ross, Sutherland, Moray, Skye, and Uist, with residence at Chanonry; (3) Argyle, embracing the Southern Hebrides, Bute, and Arran; (4) Aberdeen, extending from the Dee to the Spey, with residence in Old Aberdeen; (5) Brechin, comprising Angus and Mearns, with residence at Brechin; (6) Fife, extending to Stirling and embracing Perth, with residence at St. Andrews; (7) Edinburgh, embracing the Lothians and extending to Stirling south of the Forth, with residence at Edinburgh; (8) Jedburgh, including Teviotdale and all the border country of the Merse and Lauderdale, with residence at Jedburgh; (9) Glasgow, including Clydesdale, Renfrew, Menteith, Lennox, Kyle, and Cunningham, with residence in Glasgow; (10) Dumfries, embracing Carrick, Galloway, Nithsdale, and Annandale, with residence at Dumfries. Only five persons, however, were appointed superintendents—John Wynram to Fife, John Willock to Glasgow, John Carswell to Argyle, John Erskine of Dun to Brechin, and John Spottiswoode to Edinburgh. Besides these, John Row was appointed to a similar office for Dumfries under the name of Commissioner. As the number of competent ministers soon increased, it was not found necessary to appoint successors to the first race of superintendents, and the last of them, Erskine of Dun, died in A.D. 1591. 7. Of schools and universities—necessity of schools, time appointed to every course, the erection of universities, viz.,

three, at St. Andrews, at Glasgow, and at Aberdeen—of stipends and privileges. 8. Of the rents and patrimony of the Church, and indicating in detail how the provision for ministers, teachers, and the poor, is to be secured, and what revenues are available for those uses. 9. Of ecclesiastical discipline. 10. The election of elders and deacons, and censure of ministers, elders, and deacons. 11. The policy of the kirk—what services are to be observed and how they are to be conducted. 12. Of prophesying or interpreting the Scriptures. 13. Of marriage. 14. Of burial. 15. For reparation of the kirks. 16. For punishment of those that profane the sacraments, and contemn the word, and who presume to administer them, not being thereunto lawfully called. The whole document concludes with a prayer that God would so illumine the hearts of rulers and counsellors that they may bow to his obedience, prefer his revealed will to their own affections, and boldly punish vice and maintain virtue within the realm. *

There was yet another important document of the Scottish Reformation, *The Book of Common Order*, which, though prepared before *The First Book of Discipline*, and referred to in it as *The Order of Geneva* and *The Book of our Common Order*, did not receive official sanction till A.D. 1564. It is now usually styled *Knox's Liturgy*. In 1554 Knox and others in Frankfort drew up the first draft of this book in the form of a revision of Farel's and Calvin's services, and this is the book that was used by the English exiles from Frankfort who obtained from Calvin a home in Geneva, so that it is commonly called *The Order of Geneva*. At this time the *Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.* was being used wholly or in part in the services of reformed congregations in Scotland, but in no case did Knox or his associates

* A very full and interesting account of this document, with an examination and explanation of its provisions, is given in Lee's *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. I., pp. 149-218. See also an admirable exposition of the *Book* in Prof. Mitchell's *Scottish Reformation*, Edin. 1900, chap. viii., pp. 144-183.

acquiesce in the compulsory enforcement of a liturgy. The prayers and services of the Anglican liturgy were to be employed at the discretion of the ministers. In 1556 Knox urged the use in fully organized congregations of a simpler service, resembling the Genevan rather than the Anglican. The *First Book of Discipline* of 1560 indicates a preference for the *Book of Common Order*, and the General Assembly of 1562 enjoined its use in the administration of the sacraments and the celebration of marriage, and in 1564 it ordered every minister and reader to provide himself with a copy, and to use its Order in prayers, marriage and ministration of the sacraments. The book continued authoritatively to hold this place in the Church of Scotland until, in 1637, after the failure of the attempt to introduce Laud's Liturgy, it was enjoined that no liturgy new or old should meantime be used.*

The death of Mary's husband, Francis II. of France, in his seventeenth year, on 4th December, 1560, loosened the tie by which Scotland was bound to France, and gave its deathblow to the plots of the Guises for the union and catholicizing of Scotland and England, and their attachment to the French Crown. By the middle of January following, a convention of nobles in Edinburgh sent Lord James to France to urge Mary speedily to return to Scotland. He travelled by way of England, where the idea of a bigoted Catholic who had been trained by the Guises succeeding to the Scottish throne was regarded as a doubtful experiment. On 15th April he had audience of the Queen of the Scots, but he had been anticipated by one day by John Lesley, afterwards Bishop of Ross, who had been sent as the emissary of the Popish party to prejudice the Queen against Lord

* Mitchell, *The Scottish Reformation*, Edin. 1900, chap. vii., pp. 123-143. See also: *John Knox's Liturgy*; *The Book of Common Order*, and *The Directory for Public Worship of the Church of Scotland*, edited with Introduction and Notes by Dr. Sprott and Dr. Leishman, Edin. 1868. Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England*, London, 1875.

James and the congregation. He had advised her either to have Lord James detained in France, or to make her landing at Aberdeen, where an army of twenty thousand men attached to the Romish cause would accompany her to Edinburgh, and enable her to make her own terms with the Council. To this most mischievous advice she was wise enough to give no definite answer, simply declaring her intention of returning to her own country. Recoiling from these violent proposals, she received her brother with great cordiality, and commissioned him to act on her behalf until her return, though speedily, under the evil counsel of her bigoted French relatives, she revoked this commission. He consequently waited in England, and had several important conferences with Elizabeth. When he reached Scotland he found De Noailles, the French ambassador, already there with the demand that the league with France should be renewed, and that with England broken, and that the prelates should be restored to their charges and revenues. The Privy Council sternly refused all these demands, and ordered a systematic destruction of all remaining monuments of idolatry. The queen now hastened her departure from France. Refused a conduct through England by Elizabeth, she sailed from Calais on 14th August, and after narrowly escaping capture by the ships of the English queen, she arrived in Leith on the 19th, and received a warm welcome from her loyal people.

Knox and the queen came almost at the very first into collision with one another. On the first Sabbath after her arrival, she attended mass celebrated in her own chapel, in face of most vigorous opposition and protests; and on the following Sabbath, Knox inveighed in the strongest terms against idolatry and denounced judgment against all who had shared in or countenanced the idolatrous service of the previous Sabbath. He feared one mass more than ten thousand armed enemies. There was no influence in all Scotland so powerful as the preaching of Knox. Mary clearly perceived this, and directly sought to silence him. She first tried conciliation that had been so successful with

some of the Lords of the Congregation. Summoned to her presence, he was charged first of all with stirring up rebellion, writing a book against female government, but the chief accusation was that he had been teaching the people to receive a religion different from that of their princes. Knox boldly denied the right of princes to prescribe their religion to the people; and when asked whether subjects when they have the power may resist their princes, this pioneer of popular liberty fearlessly declared that when princes exceeded their bounds and demanded from their subjects what they are not required to obey, resistance by force becomes a duty. Paralysed with anger and astonishment, she was silent for quarter of an hour, and then, after Knox had urged the duty of princes to nourish the church, she answered, "Ye are not the Kirk that I will nourish; I will defend the Kirk of Rome, for I think it is the true Kirk of God." "Your will, madam," answered Knox, "is no reason, neither does your thought make that Roman harlot to be the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ." This beginning of controversies is a fair specimen of the many conversations and discussions between these two.

The first General Assembly of the Reformed or Protestant Church of Scotland met in Edinburgh on 20th December, 1560. There were forty-two members present, of whom only six were ministers, or at least sat as ministers, although many of those who were there as commissioners of kirks afterwards became ministers. The constitution of the earlier Assemblies was in several respects irregular. Large districts were sometimes unrepresented, while there might be two or three commissioners from one kirk, nor in any of the first six Assemblies was there any appointment of moderator made. Their meetings were conducted in the manner of easy and familiar conferences. A large number of applications from churchmen who wished to be received as ministers into the Protestant Church was dealt with, most of them from men who had been connected with the abbey, colleges and university of St. Andrews. A resolution was also passed to recommend the parliament to declare that,

contrary to the law of the Romish church, marriage could be contracted between parties in the second, third or fourth degrees of consanguinity and affinity, thus cutting off a rich source of ecclesiastical revenue obtained for dispensations.

It was understood that there should be two Assemblies in the year, and accordingly the second Assembly met on 26th May, 1561. A petition to the Privy Council was drawn up, demanding the suppression of idolatry, provision for ministers, punishment of despisers of the sacrament and of such as purchase or execute papal bulls. The third Assembly, held in December, 1561, was the first after the arrival of Queen Mary. Some trouble was made about it being convened without the consent of the queen, but Knox stoutly maintained that the church must not depend upon the will of the sovereign for her calling of Assemblies. "Take from us," he said, "the freedom of Assemblies and take from us the gospel, for without Assemblies how shall good order and unity in doctrine be kept?" Knox here also expressed his indignation at the way in which the ecclesiastical revenues were distributed. Two-thirds of the church rents were assigned to the old Popish holders of them, all this ultimately going into the hands of the local nobility and lairds, and only one-third apportioned to the uses for which all had been claimed, out of which, after paying the ministers, it was expected that a considerable revenue would go to the crown. This third was thus preyed upon under one pretext or another, so that the pittance left for the ministers was miserably small. The largest stipend, it would seem, that any one received was three hundred marks, about sixteen guineas, but the common stipend was about one-third of that, which would be equivalent to salaries in the present day varying from £70 to £200. It is often now said that the violent speech of the ministers was largely the occasion of their receiving such scant pecuniary support, but surely they deserve to have it recorded to their lasting honour that for personal advantage and even for securing the very necessities of life, they scorned to flatter the base or to speak smooth things to those who wrought wickedness.

In March, 1564, Knox, now in his fifty-ninth year, and a widower for three years, married a daughter of Lord Ochiltree, a young lady not more than twenty years of age. His enemies venomously ascribe his success in winning this young bride of so distinguished a family to witchcraft and the help of the devil. Nicol Burne, in his *Disputation on the Controverted Heads of Religion*, published in Paris in 1581, describes Knox as riding to Lord Ochiltree's in great state on a trim gelding, not like a prophet and an old decrepit priest, as he was, but as if he had been one of the blood royal, with bands of taffety fastened with golden rings and precious stones. He further says that it is commonly reported in the country, that by sorcery and witchcraft, he did so allure that poor gentlewoman, that she could not live without him. This he thinks could only have been effected by the devil, who sometimes transforms himself into an angel of light, causing Knox to appear one of the most noble and lusty men that could be found in the world. He had two sons by his first wife, Marjory Bower, who went to England, were educated at Cambridge University, and died in the prime of life, the one a Fellow of his College, and the other Vicar of a parish in the English Church. Margaret Stewart, his second wife, survived her husband, and afterwards married Sir Andrew Ker, Fadounside, an ardent Protestant, and each of her three daughters by Knox were married to a minister, one of them to the famous John Welsh of Ayr.

At the fourth General Assembly, which met in June, 1562, it was enacted that ministers should not leave their charges to attend the Assembly unless they have complaints to make or to answer, or were summoned there by their superintendent. It is evidently an altogether erroneous conclusion to assume that superintendents had the electing of members of Assembly. The summons, we may suppose, was addressed to those whose presence the superintendent regarded as of importance for the discipline and government of the church. This Assembly, however, remitted certain cases to the superintendent of the district, giving him powers for the disposal of the matter after enquiry and examina-

tion. The next Assembly met on 25th December, 1562, their meeting on Christmas day and the withdrawal of ministers from their charges, being evidently intended to discourage special services in the celebration of that day as a festival. Though John Knox opened the meeting with prayer he does not seem to have been elected moderator. The superintendents were put upon their trial, and against at least three of them, Wynram, Erskine of Dun and Spottiswoode several serious charges of neglect and irregularity were brought. In the trial of ministers that followed no special charge seems to have been brought against any of them. The seventh Assembly, meeting at Edinburgh on 25th December, 1563, was the first General Assembly regularly constituted under a moderator. The first occupant of the moderator's chair was John Willock, superintendent of the West, and he was unanimously elected by the Privy Council and the members of the Assembly conjointly. He was also continued moderator by the next Assembly of June, 1564, the two half yearly meetings being apparently regarded as practically one Assembly.

In the records of the General Assembly of 1564, we first meet with the name of George Buchanan as a member of a church court. This distinguished Scottish scholar was born at Killearn in Stirlingshire in February, 1506. After spending two years in study at Paris, he entered the New College of St. Andrews under John Major in 1525, returning, after two years' study there, to the Scottish College in Paris, and obtaining two years later a professorship in the College of Ste. Barbe. In 1535 he returned to Scotland as tutor to the son of the Earl of Cassilis, and was soon afterwards appointed by James V. instructor of one of his illegitimate sons. The writing of two satires, the *Somnium* and the *Franciscanus*, led to his imprisonment at the instigation of Beaton in the castle of St. Andrews, from which, however, he escaped into England, and from thence passed over into France. In 1547 he was professor in Coimbra in Portugal, and soon after being confined in a monastery under suspicion of heresy, he began his famous Latin para-

phrase of the Psalms. After occupying various positions, he returned to Scotland about the time of Queen Mary's arrival, to whom he was appointed classical tutor, and to whom he dedicated his Latin Psalms. From this time forward he was a firm supporter of the Protestant party, ecclesiastically and politically. He became principal of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, in A.D. 1566, and moderator of the General Assembly held in Edinburgh in June, 1567. It is sometimes maintained that we have here an instance of the appointment as moderator of one who was not a minister. Principal Lee, after showing that the irregularity of the procedure in these early Assemblies prevents us from regarding this as a precedent, even if it had been as suggested, gives reasons in support of the view that Buchanan was in orders. Principals of colleges took their turn in the weekly exercise of scripture exposition, and his immediate successors in the principalship were ministers of the parish in which the college was situated.

Four months before the meeting of this Assembly, Darnley had been murdered, and Bothwell, an unprincipled desperado of profligate life, and now chief favourite of the queen, was regarded by everyone as the murderer. The queen herself was suspected of complicity in the plot, a suspicion now practically made certain by the evidence of the Casket Letters, the genuineness of which can no longer be doubted. Only three months after the murder, the public conscience was shocked by news of the marriage of the murderer and the victim's widow. When the Assembly met Mary had been defeated at Carberry Hill, and had been already ten days a prisoner in Lochleven Castle. Shortly before this, Buchanan had written the *Detectio Mariæ Reginae*, a strong indictment of Mary, and at the conference of York in the following year, he showed himself a firm believer in the queen's guilt. It would seem that Knox and others among the ministers were in favour of Mary's death. On the 20th of July, to which day the General Assembly had been prorogued, the Lords, in order to get the assistance of its members in the disposal of the queen, promised to make good all

the articles which they might think fit to resolve upon. The Lords, therefore, undertook to fulfil the Acts of 1560 abolishing the Pope's authority, promised that two-thirds at least should be given for the maintainance of the ministers, that only qualified men should be allowed as instructors in colleges and schools, that offences should be punished according to God's Word, that all persons found guilty of the murder of the king should be brought to condign punishment, that the young prince be carefully protected, that the nobles, barons, etc., do all in their power to abolish Popery and further the true religion, and that all princes and kings hereafter in this realm before their coronation shall swear to maintain the true religion now professed in the Church of Scotland, and suppress everything contrary to it. "How they performed their promises," says Knox, "God knows." The Assembly after this dissolved, and a commission consisting of Lords Lindsay and Ruthven was sent to Lochleven, and yielding to the advice of Athol and Lethington, the queen signed a paper renouncing the crown in favour of her infant son, and on the 29th July, the young prince, only thirteen months old, was solemnly crowned as King James VI. of Scotland. Another writ, which Mary signed on the same occasion, ordained that Moray should be regent during the prince's minority, assisted and advised by a Council consisting of the Duke of Chastelherault, Earls of Lennox, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencairn and Mar.

On 25th December, 1567, the General Assembly met, and the chief matter of interest with which it dealt was the conduct of Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, who had married the queen and the Earl of Bothwell, and the case of John Craig, the colleague of John Knox in Edinburgh, who had published the banns. This John Craig had a remarkable and indeed a romantic history. Born in A.D. 1512 and educated at St. Andrews, he became a Dominican friar and resided for a time in a monastery at Bologna, where, after reading Calvin's *Institutes*, he embraced the doctrines of Protestantism. His heretical views being discovered, he was sent to Rome, and after suffering nine months' imprison-

ment, he was sentenced to be burnt at the stake. All arrangements had been made for leading him forth from the prison of the Inquisition on the morning of 18th August, 1559, but during the preceding night, Pope Paul IV. died, and the people of the city rising in a tumult, opened the prison, and let the prisoners free. Craig immediately took to flight, suffering many privations and meeting with many exciting adventures by the way. He preached in Vienna, and the new Pope demanded of Ferdinand that he should surrender him. The Archduke Maximilian, however, secured for him a safe conduct, and he reached Scotland unhurt in A.D. 1560. He was appointed colleague to Knox as minister in Edinburgh in A.D. 1563. When charged by the Assembly of 1567 with proclaiming the bans for the royal marriage, he defended himself by saying that he did so at the request of the parties themselves, giving to all warning to bring objections, and solemnly protesting against the marriage as odious and scandalous.

In the Assembly that met in July, 1568, presided over by John Willock, the inconvenience arising from the want of any system of choosing representatives as members was felt, and measures were taken to remedy matters. The number of ministers in the country had greatly increased, and it was necessary that the membership of the Assembly should be fixed according to some definite principle. An Act was therefore passed providing that only ministers, and commissioners elected by the ministers and gentlemen convened in the synod of the bounds, and commissioners of burghs chosen by the town council and kirk session of each town, be received as members of Assembly, and none without a commission, and, to prevent the perpetual election of a few, that the persons be changed from Assembly to Assembly.

Considerable trouble was caused in several places, especially in the North, by adherents of the old Romish party holding positions and putting an arrest upon the progress of the Reformation. The Assembly of 1568 took steps to deal with such cases. In response to the Assembly's demand, the regent in 1569 visited Aberdeen, summoned the principal

and other officials of the University to appear before the Privy Council, and demanded of them that they should sign the Reformed Confession of Faith, and promise to submit to the jurisdiction and discipline of the church. Refusing to do this, the Regent and Council pronounced them unfit for the care of the instruction of youth, and, by reason of their refusal to join the true Kirk, deprived of all right to teach within the realm, and of all functions within the college. This sentence was announced to them by the Superintendent of Angus, and the place of principal and sub-principal assigned to Alexander Arbuthnot and James Lawson, men of high qualifications and excellent character.

Meantime Mary, having escaped from Lochleven, and having been utterly defeated in a battle with the Regent and his following, upon which she had hazarded all, was now a fugitive in England in the hands of the jealous and hard-hearted English queen. Moray had before him a task of supreme difficulty. Quickly, however, he showed himself possessed, not only of the highest and purest patriotism, but also of the rarest political genius. His whole procedure was characterized by wise moderation and skilful discrimination. He quickly earned the title of the Good Regent, and never has a title of rank been more honourably and fairly won. As might be expected, he had enemies among the nobility who were jealous of his position and could not brook submission to his authority. But his chief difficulty arose from the plotting of the queen's party, and most of all from the opposition of the Hamiltons. On the 25th January, 1570, as he was passing through Linlithgow, in the crowded street he was shot from a window, and soon after died from his wound. The murderer was Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, and the murder was a premeditated one, in which the archbishop of St. Andrews and others of that faction and family were implicated. He was buried in St. Anthony's Aisle in the church of St. Giles in Edinburgh on 14th February, 1570, the funeral sermon being preached by John Knox from the text, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord," before an audience of three thousand people.

On the monument erected to his memory, still standing over his grave, is written the Latin epitaph prepared by his friend George Buchanan: "To James Stewart, Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, by far the best man of his age, treacherously cut off by enemies of most detestable memory, his grieving country hath erected this monument, as to a common father."

The castle of Dumbarton was the only fortress held by the queen's party, and at last a singularly bold attempt was made to obtain possession of it, with the approval of the new regent, the Earl of Lennox. The rock and ramparts were scaled and the garrison taken, the most important prisoner being the archbishop of St. Andrews. He was tried on the charge of being guilty of four capital offences; of having made an attempt to seize Stirling Castle and the person of the young king immediately after Moray's assassination; of having taken part as an accomplice in the murder of Darnley; of having been involved in the plot for the assassination of the regent; and of having planned the murder of Lennox and having lain in wait for him. He seems to have been in every plot from the time of the death of James V. While denying the other charges, he confessed that he knew beforehand of the plan for assassinating Moray, and did nothing to hinder, but rather to help it. He was sentenced to be hanged, and the sentence was almost immediately executed in April, 1571, the prelate being hung in the coat of mail which he wore when seized in the castle.

The Earl of Morton, who had been greatly enriched by the spoils of the church, was now the determined opponent of any consideration being given to the claims of the ministers for more adequate support. This selfish, intriguing statesman, possessed great influence under Lennox and Mar, and after the death of the latter in October, 1572, he succeeded to the regency. For some time back Morton had supported the introduction of a modified Episcopacy, in order that he and his friends might, by the appointment of their creatures as titular bishops, secure the main part of

the revenues to themselves. At the Convention of the Kirk held in Leith in January, 1572, a form of church government was allowed very different from that of the First Book of Discipline. Bishops and archbishops were to be appointed to the dioceses of the pre-reformation church, with the jurisdiction of superintendents. John Douglas, provost of the New College, probably a relative of Morton's, and a member of the powerful house of Angus, was appointed archbishop of St. Andrews. Knox, who was then residing in St. Andrews, expressed his strong disapproval of the appointment, and clearly perceived that it was designed to facilitate the further robbery of the church. It was meanly insinuated by John Rutherford, principal of St. Salvator's college, that Knox was fretting because he had expected the office himself. This called forth a spirited rejoinder on the following Sabbath. "I have refused," said Knox, "a greater bishopric than ever this one was, which I might have had by the favour of greater men." Glasgow, Dunkeld and Dunblane were soon after filled by James Boyd, John Paton and Andrew Graham. All this caused great dissatisfaction among the ministers generally. The titular bishops obtained little favour among their brethren, and only Boyd ever obtained the honour of moderatorship of the Assembly. The church sullenly acquiesced in the arrangement, simply because it had not the power to withstand the tyranny of its promoters.

The queen's party regarded Knox as the main strength of the opposition. Among the leaders of that party were renegade reformers Lethington and Kirkaldy. Maitland of Lethington was one of the most gifted men of the age, accomplished, courteous, singularly agile and quick witted, but utterly selfish and unscrupulous, without religion, though no one could use religious phraseology more effectively when occasion served, and without patriotism, though none could more powerfully play upon the feelings of the people in speeches that sparkled with the semblance of patriotic fervour and enthusiasm. He had served all parties in the state, and betrayed them all. For a long

time Knox had known him well, and had no faith in him. Kirkaldy of Grange was a man of altogether a different stamp. He was among those who put the cardinal to death. Unlike Lethington, he had been heart and soul with the reformers, and was greatly loved by Knox, and indeed by all who knew him. He was one of the bravest of soldiers and a skilful military commander. He is commonly described as the ideal knight of chivalry, courteous, brave, humane. He became closely attached to Lethington, and gradually became involved in the endless and perplexing plots of that restless schemer. Maitland was his evil genius, and in companionship with him the character of Kirkaldy rapidly deteriorated. It was only after Regent Moray's death that Kirkaldy avowedly joined the queen's party. As captain of the Edinburgh castle, he was guilty of many cruel and violent actions. Of him Knox had expected better things, and he mourned bitterly over his declension. The estimate which Knox had made of these two men may be learnt from his words about them as he lay on his death bed. "I have been earnest with my God," he said, "anent these two men. For the one, I am sorry that so should befall him, yet God assures me there is mercy for his soul. For the other I have no warrant that ever he shall be well." It was the enmity of these two men that drove Knox out of Edinburgh. He had denounced them vigorously and his life was threatened, but he left only when it seemed that his presence might occasion slaughter and loss among the people. In St. Andrews he occupied himself with public preaching, and privately he was constantly engaged in counselling and encouraging those who were anxious and perplexed about church and commonwealth. On the 24th of August, 1572, Knox returned to Edinburgh. He was now in his sixty-seventh year, but the many hardships and excitements of his eventful life had left him a decrepit, worn out man, and his public career was over. There had been trouble in his congregation during his absence. It was thought by many of the more staunch and decided of the king's party that John Craig had not

maintained his testimony to the truth as he should have done during the temporary domination of the queen's party in Edinburgh. Craig was therefore sent first to Montrose, and in 1574 to Aberdeen, where for a time he acted as an inspector of the churches of Mar and Buchan.

On Knox's return to Edinburgh, his people proceeded at once to the election of another as his colleague. Their choice fell upon James Lawson, sub-principal of the University of Aberdeen. For some Sabbaths before the coming of Lawson, Knox preached, not, however, in the large church of St. Giles, where he used to declaim so vigorously, but in the smaller church of the Tolbooth. His voice was gone, and much of his physical vigour, but there was no diminishing of his fiery and zealous spirit. His last public act was his presiding at the induction of his new colleague, on Sabbath, 9th November. The sermon was in the Tolbooth church, the rest of the service in St. Giles. "Having finished the service," to use the words of Dr. M'Crie, "and pronounced the blessing in a cheerful but exhausted voice, he came down from the pulpit, and, leaning upon his staff, crept down the street, which was lined with the audience, who, as if anxious to take the last sight of their beloved pastor, followed him until he entered his house, from which he never again came out alive."

Day after day during his sickness, he was visited by many of the leading statesmen and more notable ministers, as well as by many earnest religious people of obscurer rank. His personal faith in Christ was firm and unshaken. He mourned the civil strife that was waged now between men who once had struggled side by side. He sent solemn warnings, tenderly expressed, to Kirkaldy, and to the Earl of Morton, who visited him, he spoke earnestly and affectionately, and besought him, as he was soon to have the government of the realm, that he would use his benefits better in time to come than in time past, to God's glory and the furtherance of the gospel, and for the weal of the king and his realm and true subjects. "If you do so," said Knox, "God will bless you and honour you; if not, He shall spoil you of

these benefits, and your end shall be ignominy and shame." On the night of the 24th of November, 1572, Knox died, and on the 26th he was buried in the churchyard of St. Giles, now the paved court of Parliament Square.

On the day on which Knox died, Morton was raised to the office of regent. A capable statesman and a vigorous administrator, he was avaricious and self-seeking, and his ecclesiastical legislation had in view, not the well-being of the church and the advancement of religion, but the aggrandisement of himself and the strengthening of his party. Yet, little as he was disposed to carry out the policy which Knox had consistently maintained all his life long and sought to have enforced, he was able thoroughly to appreciate the Reformer's greatness and the inflexible righteousness of his character. Over Knox's grave the new regent pronounced the oft-repeated and well deserved eulogy: "Here lieth a man, who in his life never feared the face of man, who hath often been threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour."

CHAPTER V.

*Andrew Melville to Death of James VI.**

A.D. 1572—1625.

VERY shortly before the death of Knox, the Earl of Morton determined to have titular appointments made to the dignities of the old Roman hierarchy in Scotland, so that there might be more bearing the rank of archbishops and bishops, who would occupy the place of the old prelates in the house of parliament, and who would vote there as members of the spiritual estate. The excuse made for this proposal was that the constitution required that the three estates should be present in the parliament, and that this could be maintained only if there were men of spiritual rank to take their place alongside of the lords and barons and the burgesses. The real reason, as the reformers clearly perceived, was that the nobles and barons might secure the appointment of men who would appear to draw the revenues of the benefices, while really accepting a pittance, and allowing the temporal lords to retain by far the greater part of the income. It was soon made very plain what the intention was and of what sort the new bishops were, and the popular wit styled

* Literature :—M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, Edin. (1819), 1856 ; Morrison, *Andrew Melville*, Edin. 1899 ; Lee, *Lectures on History of Church of Scotland*, II., 9-219 ; James Melvil's *Diary*, Edin. 1842 ; Calderwood, *History of Kirk of Scotland* (1678), 8 vols., Edin. 1842-1849 ; Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland from 1548 to 1639*, Edin. 1842 ; Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland*, (1655), Vols. II. and III., Edin. 1851 ; Young, *Life of John Welsh*, Edin. 1866 ; Wodrow, *Life of Robert Bruce, 1583-1631*, prefixed to Bruce's Sermons, Edin. 1843 ; Scot, *Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk of Scotland from 1558 to 1633*, Edin. 1846.

them Tulchan bishops,—a tulchan being a calf's skin stuffed with straw to cause the cow to give milk. Patrick Adamson, who afterwards himself, and to his own ultimate confusion and overthrow, accepted one of these dignities, and became archbishop of St. Andrews, in a sermon preached in that city on 8th February, 1572, described three kinds of bishops: My lord bishop, my lord's bishop, and the Lord's bishop. "My lord bishop," said he, "was the bishop of the time of popery; my lord's bishop is now, when my lord getteth the benefice and the bishop serveth for a portion, with a title to make my lord's right secure; and the Lord's bishop is every true minister of the gospel." The bishops who were appointed under this arrangement do not impress us favourably. John Douglas, made archbishop of St. Andrews, was an old man, not distinguished for any great scholarship or ability, and very frail and infirm in body. He was appointed in A.D. 1571, and in the following year and in the next he was charged before the Assemblies with neglect of duty and irregularities of various kinds. He died in A.D. 1574. The other bishops were dealt with by the General Assembly year after year for offences of a more or less serious character. But even when charges were brought against the bishops, those who brought them were careful to state that their doing so was not to be understood as carrying with it any recognition on their part of the lawfulness of the Episcopal office.

In the beginning of A.D. 1581, a second Confession of Faith, commonly called the King's Confession, and known by the name of the National Covenant, was signed by the king and his household. It was drawn up by John Craig, minister in Edinburgh. In its opening clause it ratifies the old Scottish Confession of 1560, and what is added here is of a negative description, condemning in detail all popish errors, and renouncing all doctrines contrary to the true Protestant faith, about sin, the sacraments, the mass, purgatory, prayers for the dead, etc., and all episcopal theories of church government, all rites and traditions of the church without or against the Word of God. This Confession was approved

by the General Assembly, which enjoined subscription of it upon all ministers and commissioners, and ministers were required to obtain the subscription of their parishioners under severe penalties. From time to time this Confession was renewed as a Covenant by General Assemblies, and used as a touchstone to distinguish Papists from Protestants, and in later years it was made use of by those opposed to the introduction of prelatial novelties in such a way as was by no means acceptable to the king.

John Craig had returned to Edinburgh in September, 1579, after a residence of six years in Aberdeen. He was now in a position of great influence and honour as one of the King's chaplains. His presence in Edinburgh at this time was of great advantage to the church. An admirable business man and deeply versed in church law, he was in great request in Assemblies, so that we find him out of thirteen Assemblies a member of twelve. He was an excellent preacher and a good theologian. He wrote the first catechism in the language of the people issued by the Reformed Church of Scotland. This was the treatise entitled *A Short Sum of the Whole Catechism*, printed at Edinburgh by Henry Charteris in 1581. Of the first edition of this work only two copies are known to exist, one in the Advocates' Library and one in the private collection of Sir James Gibson Craig.* From a later edition a reprint has been included by Dr. Bonar in his *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation*. In it the Apostles' Creed is made the basis of the main part of its doctrinal teaching. It is somewhat larger than the Westminster Shorter Catechism, but simpler in form and less abstruse in construction, and in doctrine of the purely Calvinistic type. In 1592 the General Assembly issued under its authority an abridgement of this Catechism, prepared by Craig, and entitled *A Form of Examination before the Communion*.

* A facsimile reprint of the first edition has been issued, with an admirable introduction by Thomas Graves Law, Librarian of the Signet Lib., under the title: *A Shorte Summe of the Whole Catechisme*, by John Craig, Edin., 1883.

Up to this time there had been no regular arrangement of presbyteries, because of the insufficient number of ministers. But now that the number of ministers had increased so that the several parishes were fairly well provided for, the bounds of the presbyteries were settled, and these arranged in groups of two and three under the provincial synods. Apart from the province of Argyle and the Isles, for which no rental had as yet been given in, it was found that there were altogether in Scotland nine hundred and twenty-five kirks. Some of these parishes were so large that it was impossible, or at least extremely inconvenient, for the inhabitants to meet in the parish church, while others were of small extent and with a very limited population. It was resolved to rearrange the parishes, to reduce the number to six hundred, to divide these into fifty presbyteries, under eighteen provincial synods. The moderator of presbytery was to remain in office till the next provincial synod, and each presbytery was to have in its possession a copy of *The Book of Policy*, signed by all the ministers within its bounds.

The Book of Policy, or as it is commonly called, *The Second Book of Discipline*, had been for some time in preparation. In the Assembly of April, 1576, a commission was appointed to deliberate and draw up a scheme of polity and church government. This commission consisted of several companies, which were to sit separately in Glasgow, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Montrose, and Aberdeen, and to meet conjointly or by representatives in Stirling, and then to report to the next Assembly. At the October meeting of Assembly the heads of the policy were read over and discussed, and a committee was appointed to revise and arrange and put it in good form. In the Assembly of April, 1577, some dispute arose over certain heads of the policy, and these were re-committed, with the result that in the October Assembly objection was made by a few only on one head, that referring to the deaconship. The book was thereupon approved by the Assembly, which now sent a copy to the king and another to the council with a supplication that the

book might be considered and formally ratified. The next Assembly, which met in June, 1578, received what was regarded as a satisfactory answer from the king, who had just himself assumed the government. The parliament, however, would do no more than promise to consider the heads of the book. Parliamentary sanction being thus withheld, it was ordained at the April meeting of Assembly, 1581, that, though the book had not such good success as good men wished, it should be inserted in the register of the Acts of the Assembly. This important document consists of thirteen chapters, and is considerably less than one half of the length of *The First Book of Discipline*. The subjects of which it treats are these:—1. Of the Kirk and Policy thereof in general, and wherein it is different from the civil policy; 2. Of the Parts of the Policy of the Kirk, and Persons or Office-bearers to whom Administration is committed; 3. How the Persons that bear Ecclesiastical Functions are admitted to their Office; 4. Of the Office-bearers in particular, and first of the Pastors or Ministers; 5. Of Doctors and their Office, and of the Schools; 6. Of Elders and their Office; 7. Of the Elderships, and Assemblies, and Discipline; 8. Of the Deacons and their Office, the last ordinary function in the Kirk; 9. Of the Patrimony of the Kirk, and the Distribution thereof; 10. Of the Office of the Christian Magistrate in the Kirk; 11. Of the present Abuses remaining in the Kirk, which we desire to be reformed; 12. Certain special Heads of Reformation which we crave; 13. The Utility that shall flow from this Reformation in all estates. “So to conclude,” thus the document ends, “all being willing to apply themselves to this order, the people suffering themselves to be ruled according thereto, the princes and magistrates not being exempted, and those that are placed in the ecclesiastical estate rightly ruling and governing, God shall be glorified, the kirk edified, and the bounds thereof enlarged, Christ Jesus and His Kingdom set up, Satan and his kingdom subverted, and God shall dwell in the midst of us to our comfort through Jesus Christ, who, together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, abides blessed in all eter-

nity. Amen." The scheme of church government set forth in this document is in the main that which determines the constitution of the Presbyterian churches down to the present time. Those who framed it, and those who adopted it, maintained that it is agreeable to the Word of God, but they nowhere claim for it a divine right as though it were expressly warranted by divine authority. They held that practices which they condemned are either not according to God's Word or are directly opposed to it, and they were convinced that their conclusions are consistent with the Word, though they never pretended that particulars of legislation, which the circumstances of the church demanded, are to be found already anticipated in the Scripture revelation. They were content with asserting that the principles upon which their scheme is built are those of God's Word.

In A.D. 1574, some eighteen months after the death of the great Scottish Reformer, Andrew Melville, the greatest of all the Protestant reformers of Scotland after Knox, began his work for education and religion in his native land. He was born at Baldovy, near Montrose, on the 1st of August, 1545, and was brought up, after his father's and mother's death, in the family of his eldest brother, Richard, who was minister of Maryton. One of his brother's sons, James Melville, became afterwards his uncle's faithful companion and friend, and to the wonderfully vivid descriptions of his *Diary*, we are indebted for much of the information which we possess about the life and pursuits of the great scholar and reformer. At the Grammar School of Montrose, young Andrew Melville gave special attention to the study of Greek, the knowledge of which was a very rare accomplishment in those days, and when he went to the University of St. Andrews in 1559, he was the only one among professors and students who could read Aristotle in the original. From St. Andrews, Melville passed in 1564 to the Continent, where the next ten years of his life were spent. At Paris he continued the study of Greek, and acquired a knowledge of Hebrew, and studied philosophy under Peter Ramus. After spending some years as student and tutor at Poitiers, he went to Geneva, where

he was warmly received by Beza, the successor of Calvin, and during his five years' residence there, Melville was treated with great consideration, received an appointment to the chair of Humanity, and was regarded as one of the most distinguished ornaments of the learned society of the city. For several years nothing had been heard of Melville in Scotland, and when now it was discovered that he was still alive, urgent invitations reached him to repair to his native country, that he might undertake the task of restoring the reputation of the Scottish Universities, which had in these days fallen very low.

Arriving in Edinburgh in July, 1574, Melville was offered a court chaplaincy by the Earl of Morton. Declining this, he waited for some short time seeing his friends at Baldovy, and in October he went to Glasgow as principal of the University. This institution had become practically defunct for want of funds, so that on his appointment as principal, Melville himself constituted the whole of the *senatus Academicus*. During six years he laboured indefatigably, first of all training regents to teach classics, mathematics and philosophy, himself teaching all the classes of theology. When he had a sufficient number of men trained for the work, he classified the subjects, so that one teacher had not to undertake the whole curriculum, but only his own special subject. In 1580 he went to St. Andrews as principal of St. Mary's College, and in that office, and also in that of Rector of the University, he introduced most important reforms in the distribution of the subjects taught and in the method of teaching. By means of Melville's labours in Glasgow and St. Andrews, the Scottish Universities obtained a great reputation, so that, not only they retained native students, but attracted many from Continental countries. Morton had at once recognized Melville's power, and saw that he was the leader with whom hereafter he must reckon. He would have bestowed the highest dignities upon him, but finding it impossible to win him over by gifts, he proceeded to try whether he might not intimidate him by threats. He soon found that any attempt of that kind was equally vain. The Earl had one day broken

out in a violent rage, denouncing men who had come from over the sea to set up the Genevan discipline, and declaring that there would be no peace in the land until half a dozen of the ministers had been hanged or banished. "Tush, sir," answered Melville, "make these threats to your courtiers. It is all one to me whether I rot in air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's. *Patria est ubicunque est bene*. I have been ready to give my life where it would not have been half so well wared at the pleasure of my God. I lived out of your country ten years as well as in it. Let God be glorified. It will not lie in your power to hang or exile His truth."

On the death of John Douglas, the archbishopric of St. Andrews, which it is understood Melville had refused, was offered and accepted by Patrick Adamson or Constance, minister in Paisley. He had been a decided opponent of these sham episcopal appointments, but, being of a vain and ambitious disposition, though a brilliant scholar and an eloquent speaker, he accepted first of all a royal chaplaincy, and then, in October, 1576, he was made archbishop. In the Assembly held in April following he was charged with having entered on the bishopric, usurped the office of visitor in Fife and deserted his regular ministry. He made a formal submission, but he soon showed how hollow his professions had been by voting in parliament as bishop, making an appointment to a vicarage, and in his place in parliament opposing the adopted policy of the church. Throughout his whole career his conduct was tyrannical and oppressive in the extreme. Before he became archbishop, he had sought the favour and friendship of Melville, but afterwards he missed no opportunity of injuring him personally and seeking to thwart his ecclesiastical measures. For a time he lent himself freely as a tool in the hands of the king and court in concerting plans for the overthrow of presbytery. He also spent some time in England consulting with leading prelatists there as to the subversion of the presbyterian polity. Learned and accomplished as he undoubtedly was, it would appear that he was not wholly emancipated from

the thralldom of the most vulgar superstition. Being afflicted with some serious and persistent disease, he was said to have consulted one Aleson Pierson, a witch, who professed to obtain her skill in conference with a deceased physician. This woman had, after examination, been committed to the care of the bishop, who, having sought her advice, allowed her to escape, only, alas! to be caught again and put to death in Edinburgh. Adamson was charged before the presbytery in 1583 with having sought cure from this woman. Such superstition, however, he shared with the most enlightened of those times. Even James Melville, in the charge against Adamson of consulting with witches, tells how it was reported to him by many honest men that saw it with their eyes, that a hare, understood to be a witch who had assumed that form, burst out from the midst of a company which on a certain occasion was escorting the bishop home.

What has been called the Bassandyne Bible, the first edition of the Scriptures that issued from a Scottish printing press, appeared in the year 1579. This work had been begun in 1575 by Bassandyne and Arbuthnot, printers in Edinburgh, and though the former died in 1577, the Bible came to be known by his name. Before the issuing of this Bible, Scottish readers were obliged to get their Bibles as well as their other books from England or from the Continent. This Scottish edition was a reprint of the translation or revision issued under the care of the English Protestant refugees in Geneva in 1554, and commonly called the Genevan Bible. It reproduces this Bible with all its notes, woodcuts and maps. It was brought out under the direction of the church, the Assembly of March, 1575, supplying the printers with the authentic copy and appointing certain of their own number to supervise the printing and revise the proofs. Already, however, the Scriptures in the English tongue were widely circulated among the people, and at foreign presses Bibles with the Psalms and Catechisms were printed specially for sale in Scotland. The bargain of the Assembly with the Scottish printers was that the Bibles

should be sold for £4 13s. 4d. each in Scottish money. The Assembly also secured a license for the work from the Privy Council in 1576. An Act of Parliament passed in the same year enacted that every householder worth 300 merks rental or yeoman with £500 of stock, must possess a Bible and Psalm Book under a penalty of ten pounds.

In 1580 the town council of Edinburgh made inquiries about a bequest of Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney and abbot of Kinloss, which he had made in 1558 for the endowment of a University in Edinburgh, of which they had been named the patrons. Strangely enough, after twenty years the patrons agreed to accept, instead of the original 8000 merks with the interest due, 4000 merks for the purposes of the trust. Even this fraction of the bequest seems to have been largely misapplied. On 14th April, 1582, King James gave a charter for the erection of the university, making the provost, magistrates and councillors curators for the election and control of professors. It is curious to find that out of the thirty-three patrons of the University thirteen could not sign their own names. Robert Rollock, a regent of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, a man of great ability and learning and of high christian character, was appointed first principal in 1583, in his twenty-eighth year, holding the office till his death in 1599. The class taught by Rollock was conducted by him all through the curriculum, and for the second, third and fourth years other regents were appointed. During the first and second sessions special attention was given to classical studies, and in the later months to philosophy, in the third session along with philosophy natural history and physics were studied with the elements of Hebrew; in the fourth session, ethics, physics and metaphysics, with practice in disputation. The regents superintended the students in their home life and recreation; and the principal presided at worship daily and conducted services with the students in college every Lord's day.

On the death of James Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, was appointed to

the vacancy by the Duke of Lennox. After repeated admonition and promises of submission, which he failed to fulfil, he was excommunicated by the Presbytery of Edinburgh under the direction of the Assembly in 1582. Ultimately he gave in his submission in such a form as was acceptable, and it was resolved in 1588 that he might be admitted to a flock where he had not been scandalous, providing he be found qualified in life and doctrine. He seems to have been a weak man, under the influence of Adamson, and held in contempt by the people wherever he appeared.

On the 28th September, 1582, died George Buchanan, one of the greatest and most brilliant of Scotland's scholars. Besides the Satires, which have already been referred to, Buchanan published in 1579 his *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, a dialogue concerning the rights of the crown in Scotland, dedicating it to his old pupil James VI. In it he firmly maintained the doctrine that kings exist by the will and for the good of the people. He had been appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1570, and this office he held until he resigned it in 1578. From that time onward he devoted himself to the writing of his *History of Scotland*, an extensive work in which he retails many of the legendary stories of the earlier periods, but makes a valuable contribution in the narrative of events occurring in his own day. He was distinguished not only for his singularly wide and accurate scholarship, but also for great integrity and uprightness of character. He died poor, and was buried at the public expense in Greyfriars Churchyard.

In February, 1584, Andrew Melville was summoned before the Council on a charge of using treasonable language in his preaching. He boldly denied the jurisdiction of the court, and refused to answer there as to the discharge of his spiritual functions. He was sentenced to imprisonment in Blackness Castle, but his friends assuring him that his life was threatened, he withdrew to Berwick over the English border. For nearly two years he remained in voluntary exile in England.

Shortly after Melville's withdrawal, a meeting of parlia-

ment was held at which measures were passed, usually called the Black Acts, at the instigation of Adamson, for the overthrow of the Presbyterian discipline and the destruction of the liberties of the church. In this parliament, the meetings of which were held within closed doors, Adamson and Montgomery sat as bishops. These famous Acts pronounced those guilty of treason who should decline the judgment of the king or council in any manner whatsoever, as also those who impugned or sought to diminish the power and authority of the *three* Estates of parliament. Thus, the refusal to acknowledge the office and rank of the bishops was construed as a treasonable offence. These Acts also prohibited all conventions, except the ordinary courts, for consulting about matters civil or ecclesiastical without the king's special license. According to this enactment no church court could meet except when convened directly by royal authority. These Acts further ordained that the bishops should be commissioned by the king to make all ecclesiastical appointments and arrangements in their diocese. It was also enacted, in view immediately of the well known practice of all the leading Protestant ministers, that no one should presume in sermons or in less public conferences, to censure the king's conduct or the proceedings of the Council under pain of prosecution with the utmost rigour for a treasonable offence. It is little wonder that, among all the tyrannical measures that have been passed and put into execution, these should have been singled out by the designation of "the Black Acts of 1584" for marked reprobation as infamous in the uttermost degree. It is humiliating enough for a patriotic Scotsman to record that they were passed and publicly proclaimed without any objection being taken by the nobles, barons and burgesses, who basely gave their votes as they were bidden. It is to the undying honour of the ministers that they stoutly opposed these high-handed acts of pure despotism by which not only their rights but those of the people were assailed, so that if they were submitted to no one would dare to utter his thoughts, but must receive unquestioningly whatever the king and his few favourites

might say. More than twenty of the best and ablest ministers were obliged to follow Melville and seek safety in flight. Lawson, Balcanquhal and Pont, ministers of Edinburgh, publicly protested against these Acts, and then fled to England. For those who remained a bond was prepared which they were required to sign within forty days. By this they bound themselves, under pain of losing their stipends, to submit to the king as supreme over all estates, civil and ecclesiastical, and to recognise the bishops. As most of the ministers refused to sign this bond, a clause was added at the suggestion of Adamson, to the effect that they conformed only "according to the Word of God." The clause was ambiguous, and meant really nothing, so far as the obligation was concerned, but it proved a snare and many by it were entrapped into signing the bond. The extreme severity with which the penalties of disobedience to these hateful laws were enforced, and the examples of such men as John Dury, John Craig and Erskine of Dun, led to a very general defection, so that in a short time almost all the ministers who were not in exile had given in their submission. The exiled ministers, however, found support from those noblemen and barons who had left the country over the trouble caused by the Raid of Ruthven, and both nobles and ministers knew that they were backed up to a large extent by popular sentiment, and that many in Scotland were groaning under the despotism of Arran, who ruled both king and people. Accordingly, when, in October, 1585, the banished lords and ministers returned from England, the strength of their party was such that Arran fled, and the king at Stirling received them into his favour. Instead of considering the interests and liberties of the church, those lords who had now regained royal favour attended exclusively to their own affairs. One minister after another whose preaching offended the king, was sent to Blackness. Still more grievous was the countenance given to Popery. Maxwell, who had now been created Earl of Morton, one of the chief opponents of Arran, was a Roman Catholic, and in Dumfries a procession was made with lighted tapers and

mass performed. For quarter of a century such a sight had not been seen in Scotland. As open encouragement given to the Popish party would prove peculiarly offensive to England, it was necessary that the complaint of the ministers against this bold demonstration should be listened to, and at least the appearance of a check be given to such displays of Popish zeal; and so the principal offenders were imprisoned for three months in Edinburgh Castle, and a proclamation issued against all Popish intrigues. Another source of trouble was the divided state of feeling among the members of the Presbyterian party. Naturally enough recriminations passed between those who had gone into exile and those who had signed the bond. There was not the same unanimity and heartiness in rejecting all proposals of compromise as characterized the proceedings of earlier years.

Notwithstanding his peace-loving disposition, which led him to sign the bond and to make compromises which the more staunch and consistent Covenanters persistently denounced, John Craig vigorously opposed the Black Acts of 1584. When Arran angrily shouted, "Who dare find fault with Acts of Parliament?" Craig fearlessly answered: "We do and shall find fault with everything that is repugnant to the Word of God."

In April, 1586, the synod of Fife passed the sentence of excommunication upon Archbishop Adamson, because, notwithstanding his sentence of suspension by the General Assembly, he had continued to preach, had declined the authority of the church courts, and had refused to stand trial for various offences with which he had been charged. In consequence of the very urgent entreaties of the king, who tried eagerly to get an admission of the superiority of the bishops in respects of order, if not jurisdiction, the Assembly held in May, 1586, agreed, notwithstanding the protest of Andrew Melville and other wise and far-seeing men, to treat the sentence of synod as unpronounced, in the hope of securing the king's good will and obtaining the archbishop's submission. The Assembly seems to have been of a singularly temporizing disposition. The majority of the minis-

ters, who had been subscribers to the bond, showed themselves weak and inconsiderate, and too ready to yield to the fear and flattery of the court. A sort of mixed government was agreed to. The bishop was recognised as having power by reason of order, but, while his rank was acknowledged, it was maintained that the name and office of bishop is common to all pastors, that the titular bishop may visit the bounds prescribed to him and make presentations only with consent of the presbytery, that in doctrine and life he shall be subject to the censures of presbytery, synod and assembly, and that whatever would deprive an ordinary minister of his office shall also serve to deprive a bishop of his. These conclusions of a conference at Holyrood were homologated at this Assembly. As Adamson subscribed the conditions proposed by the Assembly, he was absolved.

In the beginning of the year 1587 the king came into conflict with some of the ministers over a request which he made of them to make public prayer on behalf of his mother, as she now lay under sentence of death. This some of them declined to do, and their refusal has subjected them to a great deal of ill-considered and undeserved abuse. The king's own conduct with regard to this matter was the most heartless conceivable. Between her sentence and its execution there was an interval of three months, and during that period there was no abatement of the merriments of the court. The king simply sent a verbal message to the ministers of Edinburgh five days before the execution, requiring them to pray for her spiritual illumination, and that God would save her from the apparent danger into which she was cast. The ministers declared themselves ready to pray for the salvation of her soul, but not in such a way as would imply that they regarded her as guiltless in regard to the plots against the life of Elizabeth and for the subversion of the Protestant religion. In the High Church of Edinburgh on the 3rd of February, 1587, John Couper preoccupied the pulpit, although the king had arranged that Archbishop Adamson should preach that day and say the prayers for his mother in the manner required. The king ordered the

regular minister to come down and allow Mr. Patrick Adamson to preach. But the archbishop's appearance was the occasion of a great disturbance, most running out of the church after their minister, and leaving few besides those around the king, to hear him discourse on the duty of praying for all men. When the king complained of the conduct of the minister, the Assembly declined to censure him, but in the interests of peace removed him to Glasgow.

A serious charge was brought against Adamson of having mutilated the records of the Assembly. As these books had been forcibly taken away by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Assembly applied to the Privy Council to have them restored, and that Adamson should be made to appear to answer for their removal and other misdeeds. The secretary of the Council brought to the Assembly five volumes of their records, with leaves torn out of them and other mutilations, so that they asked to have thereafter the custody of their own books. As the king insisted on having the inspection of them as often as he liked, though promising to send them back, the Assembly wisely determined to have its register produced in duplicate. In his confession afterwards, Adamson acknowledged that he had torn out leaves from the book in which anything was found against the order of bishops.

Several Acts of Parliament were passed in 1587 which, though not directly favourable to Presbyterianism, were certainly hurtful to the cause of Episcopacy in Scotland. In particular one Act, on the ground that the king had now attained his majority, and that all alienations of property during his minority should be void, annexed all the church lands to the crown, reserving always the tiends for the payment of the ministers. This was no doubt expected to afford a large revenue to the king, which would save him from imposing taxes upon a people unaccustomed to pay such dues and not likely to submit to any such imposition. Meanwhile, however, those in possession had to be allowed to draw the revenues, and as thus the income was not immediately available, the king recklessly gave away these tem-

poralities as gifts to his favourites, and the seizure of church property benefited neither the church nor the king.

During all this time the adherents of the Romish faith, especially in the north, had never abandoned their intrigues in favour of a restoration of the power of the Roman Catholic Church and the overthrow of the Protestant religion and government. Among them there was a considerable amount of sympathy with Philip of Spain, the great champion of the Romish Church in that day among the princes of Europe. He was now engaged fitting out his great Armada against Elizabeth, and the Protestant lords and ministers in Scotland represented to the king the danger in which the country lay in consequence of the presence in their own land of those who favoured the enemy. Jesuit priests and Papal emissaries, under various disguises, were spreading everywhere all over the country, assiduously seeking to advance the interests of the old church and stir up the enthusiasm of those who were supposed to be favourers of the cause. An Act was accordingly passed which ratified all the laws that had been made against the enemies of Protestant truth and against those who seek to seduce the people from their allegiance to the Reformed religion, and denounced death and forfeiture upon any papist or seminary priest found in the country forty days after the passing of the Act. The circulating of erroneous books was also made a crime. Besides this, in answer to the warnings addressed him, the king in the following year raised an army and put himself at the head of his troops, and effectually quelled the turbulent Popish barons who had threatened to revolt.

In connection with the passing of the Act of Annexation by which the ecclesiastical lands were attached to the crown, the Assembly complained that the king had transferred the right of patronage of the several benefices from himself to lords and others to whom the lands had been made over, and that in some cases the patronage of church livings had been conferred upon parties who had not obtained possession of the lands. It was maintained that this was fraught with serious danger to the church. The Assembly, therefore, entreated

the king to annul those gifts of patron rights at next parliament, and meanwhile to make no more gifts of that kind, and also to prohibit those new patrons from exercising their patronage till the next General Assembly had met. No definite proposal was as yet made with regard to the party or parties to whom the right and privilege of election should be given. In most parts of the country the common people were still in a degraded condition, living in ignorance and vice. At an Assembly in Perth in 1596, it was resolved, in answer to a question by the king, that the election of pastors should be made by those that are lawfully called pastors and doctors, and who can try the gifts necessarily belonging to pastors by the Word of God, and that to such as are so chosen the flock and the patron should give their consent and protection.

At this time there appears upon the scene, as one of the ministers of Edinburgh, Mr. Robert Bruce, destined to figure prominently in the history of the church and nation for many years to come. A son of the laird of Airth, Robert Bruce was born in 1559, and as it was originally intended that he should follow a legal career, he had bestowed upon him by his father the lands and barony of Kinnaird. Turning his attention afterwards, however, to the church, he studied under Andrew Melville in St. Andrews, and visiting Edinburgh in 1587 with his teacher, he was urged to enter upon the ministry in that city. Before this he had preached and administered the sacraments, and now he continued to do so at the call of the church, but without formal ordination by the imposition of hands. The unsettled character of the times and the urgency of the call which was first pressed upon him may account for this irregularity, together with the fact that, though the laying on of hands is enjoined in *The Second Book of Discipline*, it was disapproved of in the First. Mr. Bruce came to be regarded as one of the most popular preachers that Scotland had ever produced. He became a great favourite with the king and his most trusted counsellor. The great confidence which his majesty had in the minister's wisdom and ability is shown by this, that when

he determined to go to Norway to meet his bride in November, 1589, he entrusted to Mr. Bruce the management of the kingdom in his absence. During the six months that elapsed before the king's return, the papists sought to foment troubles and produce feuds among the nobles, but Bruce, in conjunction with the Protestant nobles and ministers, managed affairs admirably, so as to preserve peace and maintain order throughout the realm. The king wrote him from Upsala thanking him for the care he had taken of his country, and declaring him worthy of the quarter of it. The king and queen landed at Leith on 1st May, 1590, and the queen was crowned in the Abbey Church on 17th May, Mr. Bruce anointing her, Andrew Melville reciting a magnificent coronation ode in Latin called "The Stephaniskion," greatly admired by all the learned men of Europe. For at least five years after this Mr. Bruce continued to stand high in the favour and estimation of the king.

The General Assembly met in August, and the king attended in person one of the services, and was apparently in excellent humour and most favourably inclined toward the ministers in consideration of their loyal help during his absence and since his return. In delivering his speech he made quite a theatrical display, and his audience was completely carried away by the appearance of sincerity and hearty goodwill. The king uncovered his head, stood up with his eyes and hands raised to heaven, and began to praise God that he had been born in such a time as king in a country with such a church, the sincerest in the world. "The kirk of Geneva," said he, "keeps Christmas and Easter. What have they for them? They have no institution for them. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their service is an ill said mass in English. They want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge ye, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen and barons, to stand to your purity and to exhort the people to do the like; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly." So delighted were the ministers with this strong pronouncement

of the king in favour of the church and presbyterian polity that we are told that there was nothing heard for quarter of an hour but praising of God and praying for the king. The Assembly afterwards proceeded to make request of the king that he would ratify the liberties of the kirk, purge the land of papists and popery, and have the kirks provided with pastors and provision. The king assented to these proposals, and asked that commissioners should be appointed to present these matters before the Council.

Archbishop Adamson had by this time fallen into disfavour with the king. He is said to have had extravagant habits, and probably was fond of making a display and maintaining a large and expensive following. At the same time, the income which was allowed to reach him was probably at no time adequate to the style which he was expected to maintain. Consequently he was drowned in debt, and was in such dire straits that his household furniture was seized and sold, and he was left without the means of providing the ordinary necessaries of life. The revenues of the bishopric had been given by the king to the Duke of Lennox. In his extreme destitution his health gave way, and the treatment he now received from those whom he had served, and in whose service he had incurred such odium, preyed upon his mind, as did also the excommunication of the church, under which he still lay. In his neediness and misery he was driven to seek help from Andrew Melville, whom he had often treated so badly. He had certainly been a most grievous troubler of the church, and had often condescended to the meanest manœuvres to cause annoyance and produce irritation among those who had formerly been his brethren. But after all, he seemed to be at heart too good for the position he had sought to fill. A more utterly unscrupulous man would have succeeded better. He went too far, but his conscience and better nature would not let him go far enough. Only in this way can we explain his intense anxiety for the removal of the church excommunication, when he was already in a dying state, so that restoration to the communion of the church and the favour of the brethren

could no longer benefit his temporal condition. He entreated in an eager, almost abject, manner that he might be absolved from ecclesiastical censure, and in order to obtain this absolution he gave in an elaborate and detailed confession or recantation. He received liberal help from Andrew Melville, and was visited pastorally by David Black, minister of St. Andrews. They do not seem to have put any pressure upon him in the way of urging his recantation, only it was necessary, before absolution could be granted, that sorrow for the conduct that had occasioned the excommunication should be clearly and exactly expressed. The Assembly of 1591 agreed to absolve the penitent, and Black made public intimation of this from the pulpit of St. Andrews. Shortly before his death, which took place on 19th February, 1592, Adamson made a notable confession, which makes one think of Wolsey's memorable words. "I gloried over much," he said, "in three things, and God has now justly punished me in them all: 1st. I gloried in my riches and great living, and now I am so poor that I have no means to entertain myself; 2nd. I gloried in my eloquence, and now few can understand what I speak; 3rd. I gloried in the favour of my prince, and now he loves any of the dogs of his kennel better than me."

Nothing is more noticeable than the lively interest which the ministers in their preaching and in their Assemblies took in the political affairs and in the social interests of the nation. It was not that they were busybodies meddling with matters outside their province, but for the most part by taking to do with the actions of the king or his failure to act, they were, in accordance with a sound instinct, recognizing the inseparable connection between life and doctrine, and the need that existed for the lovers of God's Word seeing to the realization in the community of God's will. If they reprov'd the king sharply for his want of faith in his dealings with the church, they were no less faithful in condemning anything like connivance on his part with those who had been guilty of crimes against the good order of the commonwealth. To all straightforward, right thinking men

the crookedness of the policy of James and his vacillation, caused often by his excessive timidity, must have been beyond measure provoking, and must have made them feel almost hopeless in the battle for liberty and righteous government. The Earl of Moray, commonly known as the *Bonnie Earl*, had been murdered in broad daylight at Donibristle by his enemy the Earl of Huntly, who had persuaded the king of Moray's being accomplice of Bothwell in the plot against his majesty. It was an atrocious outrage on one of the most popular of Scottish noblemen, but James, by one excuse after another, so managed affairs that Huntly escaped unpunished. A few days after the murder Mr. Patrick Simson was preaching before the king on the text: "The Lord said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother?" and in the hearing of the whole congregation he addressed the king: "Sir, I assure you, in God's name, the Lord will ask of you, 'Where is the Earl of Moray your brother?'" The king replied before all the people: "Mr. Patrick, my chamber door was never steeked upon you; ye might have told me any thing ye thought in secret." "Sir," he answered, "the scandal is public." And the old historian tells us that, being sent for to the castle, the minister went up with the Bible under his arm, saying, that could plead for him.

The Assembly of 1592 petitioned for the repeal of those Acts of Parliament which were against the liberties and privileges of the church, and again asked that the policy of the church should be recognised and ratified. The horror awakened throughout the country by the murder of Moray, and the widespread indignation caused by the king's evident reluctance to pursue the man suspected of the crime, and the consequent unpopularity that had fallen upon the king and the chancellor, Maitland, made the court party anxious by all means to conciliate the ministers and to pass measures favourable to the church. A meeting of parliament was therefore held immediately after the rising of the Assembly. Two of the demands of the Assembly were refused—that the Act of Annexation should be cancelled and the patrimony

of the church restored, and that abbots and priors should not be permitted to vote in parliament or any other convention in name of the church. But the other two, that the presbyterian government and discipline should be ratified, and that the Acts in favour of popery should be abrogated, were agreed to. The Act of Parliament of date 15th June, 1592, may be regarded as the constitutional charter of the Presbyterian Church government in Scotland. It ratified all previous Acts favourable to the church, confirmed all the privileges these had bestowed upon it, approved the General Assemblies that had been appointed by it, made yearly Assemblies lawful, as also the meetings of provincial synods and presbyteries; it indicated the business proper to each of these church courts; it abrogated all pre-Reformation Acts recognizing the pope's authority and tolerating or enforcing superstitious observances; and it also annulled the Act of 1584 granting commission to bishops and other judges in ecclesiastical causes to receive the king's presentation to benefices, and ordained that all such presentations be by the particular presbyteries, providing that these presbyteries be bound to receive any qualified minister presented by his majesty or lay patron. This Act was passed grudgingly. It was extorted under dread of further loss of popularity at a crisis when this could not be ventured upon. It was, however, a great gain to the church to have all the main heads of her policy and her popular constitution thus legally established and confirmed. So far as James was concerned, he hated the democratic principles that constituted the foundation of the Presbyterian polity, and was determined that so soon as opportunity was afforded him, he would repudiate all his fair promises, and re-establish the hierarchy in Scotland, and the Episcopal form of government and worship in the Scottish church.

For many years following the passing of this Act the Presbyterian Church in Scotland was in a flourishing condition, and its ministers knew how to take advantage of this period of prosperity to strengthen the institutions of the church and extend its benefits throughout the land. Among

many evils introduced by the avarice of the Regent Morton, and kept up by the parsimony or poverty of subsequent rulers, one of the most injurious to the interests of the church was the practice of combining several large and populous parishes under the care of one minister, so that instead of three or four stipends only one was paid. James Melville, the nephew of Andrew, after being regent in Glasgow University, and from 1580 professor of Hebrew in St. Andrews, was in 1586 called to the parish of Anstruther, to which was attached the three neighbouring parishes of Kilrenny, Pittenweem and Abercrombie. He brought with him an assistant, Robert Dury, to whom he gave over Anstruther with all its endowments. Through time he secured means of planting ministers in Pittenweem and Abercrombie, while he himself retained the pastoral charge of Kilrenny. He built a manse mainly at his own expense, and himself raised money for the permanent endowment of the parish. He also paid the parochial teacher's salary and kept an assistant, so that the parish might not suffer from his frequent absences on the business of the church. In the thoroughly unselfish and laborious way in which James Melville discharged his duties as a parish minister, we have, no doubt, a specimen of the character and of the style of work that was being done in hundreds of obscure country parishes by noble self-sacrificing men through the length and breadth of the land.

The Popish party in Scotland, though considerably daunted by the failure of their hopes through the defeat of the Armada, had never altogether ceased from their plots and schemes for the subversion of the Protestant faith and their intrigues for the obtaining of an ascendancy in the councils of the king. During this period the most notorious of the king's enemies was the desperado Bothwell. This unscrupulous man, in order to gain favour among the people, did not hesitate to circulate a report that he had the goodwill of the principal preachers, and that there was a good mutual understanding between him and them. The king readily believed, or professed to believe, this story against

the ministers, which the friends of the Popish lords took care to have carried to him, and put before him in a way the most damaging to the character of the Protestant leaders. Not only was this statement made with reference to the Melvilles, but even Robert Bruce, who had done so much for the king and been such a favourite at court, was charged by the fickle monarch with conspiring to have the crown put upon Bothwell's head. It was also maintained that James Melville, who had been collecting money for the state of Geneva, impoverished by a war with the Duke of Savoy, had paid over the money to Bothwell to enable him to raise an army against the king. This calumny was disproved by Melville, who was able to produce receipts to show that the money had been paid to those for whom it was intended, and a special letter of thanks from Beza. There cannot be a shadow of doubt as to the stedfast loyalty of the ministers. Andrew Hunter of Carnbee had taken part with Bothwell, and when the king asked that Hunter should be excommunicated as the first open traitor against his natural sovereign and a king of his own religion, and as one who had brought a scandal on his own profession, it was found that the church had not waited the call of the king, but that before this, at the church's own instance, he had been excommunicated. That in the king's conduct which caused special annoyance to the ministers was his reluctance to punish Popish intrigues, and his readiness to receive the Popish lords into favour. Some allowance must no doubt be made for the difficulties of the king's position, with so many powerful nobles, supported, especially in the North, by a large portion of the people, who were firmly attached to the Romish church. Also that statecraft upon which he valued himself so highly seemed to require that, in view of the English succession, he should endeavour to conciliate all classes and all varieties of belief among his subjects. His mistake lay in the method which he adopted for accomplishing this, making friends with one party by deceiving and misleading the other.

Towards the end of 1592 a serious plot was discovered, in

which the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol were involved. These and several of less degree had been intriguing with Philip of Spain about an invasion of the country in the interests of the Romish faith. The ministers had been largely instrumental in its discovery. Andrew Knox, minister in Paisley, headed a party which apprehended the accredited agent of the traitors before he sailed for Spain, with papers called the *Spanish Blanks*, to which were appended the signatures of the leading rebels. At first James was inclined to resent the interference of the ministers, but at last he was compelled to raise an army to go after Huntly, who had fled to his stronghold in the North. On the approach of the royal army, Huntly fled to Caithness, and, as the weather was extremely severe, the king returned south from Aberdeen, and that expedition was at an end. After this the king trifled with the matter, and showed that he had no wish to prosecute the business any further. The Synod of Fife, under the influence of the Melvilles, excommunicated the Popish lords, but the king was greatly displeased at this, and got the Parliament to pass an Act of Oblivion, assuring the lords of indemnity in regard to all that had passed. Notwithstanding this evidence of the king's disposition, the Assembly of May, 1594, confirmed what the Synod of Fife had done. In vain the king sought to win over James Melville by flattery and favour. The ministers stood firm though the parliament had given way. Urged at last to action by the determined stand taken by the ministers, and by the taunts of the English queen, a parliament was convened in June, 1594, which almost unanimously voted for the forfeiture of the lords. Argyle, who first attempted to reduce Huntly to obedience, was defeated in Glenlivet, and at last an army under the king himself, who was accompanied and advised by Melville, destroyed Huntly's castle of Strathbogie, and that troublesome nobleman and his friends sought refuge in other lands.

The death of Chancellor Maitland was a serious loss to the cause of the Presbyterian church, and in 1595 the king began again to show himself unfavourable to the ministers.

Taking advantage of this change in the king's temper, Balfour of Burley, in revenge for a claim made by David Black, the minister of St. Andrews, upon a house held by him which was rightfully the manse, brought a charge against the minister of using violent language in the pulpit and defaming the memory of the king's mother. The parties had been summoned before the king at Falkland. While the case was proceeding Andrew Melville appeared upon the scene, and speaking on the question of jurisdiction, uttered one of his memorable speeches. He let the king know plainly what he had often before dinned into his ear, that there are two kings in Scotland, two kingdoms and two jurisdictions: There is Christ Jesus, etc.; and if the king of Scotland, civil King James VI., had any judicature or cause there presently it should not be to judge the faithful messenger of Jesus Christ the king, etc., but (turning him to the laird of Burley standing there) this traitor, who has committed divers points of high treason against his majesty's civil laws, to his great dishonour and offence of his good subjects, namely, taking of his peaceable subjects in the night out of their houses, ravishing of women, and resetting within his house of the king's rebels and forfault enemies. When now Burley fell on his knees and called for justice: "Would to God," cried Melville, "that you had it; you would not then be here to bring a judgment from God upon the king and thus falsely and unjustly vex and accuse the faithful servants of God." The trial was thereupon suddenly ended, and the chancellor, at James Melville's entreaty, counselled the king, so that he had a private and friendly interview with Mr. Black, and all ended pleasantly.

Great fears were awakened in the church by the appointment in 1596 of eight statesmen as financial officers, commonly called Octavians, who came to exercise almost complete control of state affairs; "of whom," says James Melville, "the one half were suspected papists and the other half little better." The maintenance of ministers and the supplying of ministers to the several parishes were burning questions at this time. Commissioners were ap-

pointed by parliament to meet with the General Assembly, and in the end the secretary, John Lindsay, produced an excellent scheme for church planting throughout Scotland. But Melville tells us that the clerk register, Alexander Hay, thought it impossible to devise a proper scheme, or if it were devised, to carry it out, and that the secretary, though he thought the devising of a scheme possible, and so actually prepared it, acknowledged before he died that it was impossible, in the circumstances in which Scotland was, to carry out its provisions. This elaborate scheme for providing fixed stipends for the ministers, which is given in full in James Melville's *Diary*, could not be carried out because in that very year the tiends, which this measure hoped to resume possession of on behalf of the church, had been assigned to the old lessees on a perpetual lease and were thus made for all time to come heritable to them.

The General Assembly which met in April, 1596, was mainly occupied with a consideration of the corruptions among ministers in respect of the office and in respect of their persons and lives. It was urged that great care be taken to see that no one uses improper means to obtain an appointment, and that every candidate be required to declare on his conscience that a desire to serve God and win souls to Christ, and not the gaining of worldly means and preferment is the motive which has led him to accept office. Attention was also called to this, that many were intruded on congregations whose after ministry showed that they were not called of God, and so it was insisted upon that none seek presentation to benefices without advice of the presbytery within whose bounds the benefice lies. It was also resolved that the trials of those to be admitted to the ministry be not only as to their learning and ability to preach, but also in conscience and feeling and spiritual wisdom, in doctrine and discipline, and also in suitability for the particular parish or district. It was also resolved that those should be censured who were "not given to their book and study of scripture, not careful to have books, not given to sanctification and prayer, that study not to be powerful and

spiritual in doctrine, that are obscure and over scholastic before the people, cold and wanting spiritual zeal, negligent in visiting the sick and caring for the poor, indiscreet in choosing parts of the Word not meet for the flock," etc. In regard to faults of life, all lightness of behaviour, profanity of speech, keeping of inns, taking usury, keeping up victuals to sell them in time of dearth, not residing among their flocks, waiting on the court without leave of their presbytery, neglect of family worship and catechising, worldly and unspiritual talk in company, were to subject the offender to admonition, and, in case of continuance, to deposition. The meeting at which these solemn matters were dealt with was a very impressive and affecting one, each member standing with uplifted hands and renewing his covenant with God. The Assembly set the example to the other courts. This solemn act of covenanting was repeated at the Synod of Fife in the following month, and thereafter by several presbyteries and particular congregations throughout the kingdom.

The Assembly and the church generally were still greatly exercised over the question of the return of the popish lords and the evident favour shown toward them by the king. Alexander Seton, president of the Court of Session, a papist, urged upon the king at Falkland, that if he did not receive back these lords, they might in despair be led to join their country's enemies as Coriolanus and Themistocles had done. The king called a convention of the ministers, choosing, however, only such as he thought might be favourable to his own wishes. Andrew Melville was not called, but appeared as a commissioner from the General Assembly appointed to see to the dangers of the kirk on all occasions. The ministers came into the assembly as their names were called, and Melville went in among the first though his name was not called. He was challenged sharply by the king, and this gave him his opportunity. "Sir," said he, "I have a calling to come here from Jesus Christ the king and His kirk, who has special interest in this matter, and against which directly this Convention is met, charging you and your Estates in His name and of His Kirk, that ye favour not

his enemies whom He hates, and go not about to call home and make citizens those that have treacherously sought to betray their city and native country to the cruel Spaniard, with the overthrow of Christ's kingdom, from which they have been therefore most justly cut off as rotten members; certifying that if they should do to the contrary, they shall feel the dint of the wrath of that King and his Estates." He was ordered out by the king, and went, rejoicing that he had had the opportunity of there delivering his message. The conclusion reached by this meeting with the king was, that seeing the king and the kirk were agreed, it would be best that the popish nobles should be called home, and that the king should receive them and hear what promises of service and loyalty they would make.

Against this resolution of the Estates the best men in the church protested, and the Melvilles and others were sent by the Assembly which met in September in Cupar to confer with the king at Falkland, so as to get this proposal for the return of the popish lords cancelled. James Melville began speaking calmly of the dangers that in such a time would result from carrying out such a measure; but when the king interrupted, asking in a cross and querulous manner how they dared act in such a seditious and interfering way, Andrew Melville broke in with violent speech. He called the king "God's silly vessel," and taking him by the sleeve, said: "Sir, we will reverence your majesty always, namely, in public, but since we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and the truth is, you are brought into extreme danger both of your life and crown, and with you the country and kirk of Christ is like to be wrecked, for not telling you the truth and giving you a faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty therein or die traitors to both Christ and you. And therefore, sir, as divers times before, so now again, I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is Christ Jesus the king, and His kingdom the kirk, whose subject King James VI. is, and of whose kingdom not a king nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. . . . And, sir, when you were in your

swaddling clothes, Christ Jesus reigned freely in this land in spite of all His enemies, and his officers and ministers convened and assembled for the ruling and weal of His kirk, which was ever for your welfare, defence, and preservation also, when these same enemies were seeking your destruction and cutting off," etc. The king now dissembled, dismissing them pleasantly and assuring them that he knew not of the lords coming until they had arrived. He promised that he would not receive their offers of submission until they had again gone forth from the country ; and that no offers would be received, nor grace and favour shown them until they had satisfied the kirk.

Notwithstanding the express promise of the king the popish lords were allowed to enter the country. Meanwhile a tumult occurred in Edinburgh which was made use of by the king as an excuse for dealing severely with the leaders of the church. A false cry of a massacre had been raised and the people rose, not knowing whether the ministers or the king had been slain. It is understood that this cry was made by some one employed to do so by the *Cubiculars*, the members of the king's household, who were at feud with the Octavians, and sought their overthrow. The monarch, in great terror, went out to Linlithgow. He accepted the resignation of the Octavians, whose popish leanings made them generally suspected. On 1st January, 1597, the king entered Edinburgh with great pomp and surrounded by a large military force. The magistrates were overawed, promised to seek out the ringleaders in the riot, gave power to the king to interdict the ministers from preaching and church courts from meeting. The king, feeling that he had gained important concessions, summoned by his own authority the Assembly to meet at Perth on the 1st of March, and produced a set of fifty-five questions, mainly concerning church polity and discipline, to be answered there.

During the weeks that intervened, the king, by his commissioner, Sir Patrick Murray, was busy in the North, in order that large numbers of the ministers of Angus, Aberdeen and Moray might attend and be of a disposition

to favour the projects of the monarch. Sir Patrick, whom Melville calls the Apostle of the North, made much of the Northland ministers, introduced them to the king and flattered them, spoke of the ministers of Fife and Lothian as arrogating all power to themselves and making themselves popes in the church. When the first meeting took place it was debated whether it could be held a lawful Assembly, and at last, by a majority, it was declared that it might be called an extraordinary Assembly. Its lawfulness has been generally denied. No less than thirteen reasons are given by James Melville for this view of it. It was not convened by the former Assembly, but by the king against the advice of the kirk; it was not in favour of, but against the established discipline; it was not opened with prayer and preaching by the moderator of the former Assembly, no moderator was chosen, but one was put to preside by the king, the clerk of last Assembly having died no new clerk was solemnly and regularly appointed, almost half of the commissioners of presbyteries dissented and protested against it, even the small majority, after delay, only named it an *extraordinary* Assembly, there was want of orderly proceeding, there was no proper discussion, but matters were brought in prepared and ready, no voting, no concluding, what was approved by the open Assembly was afterwards altered by the unchosen moderator and clerk. This was the first of a series of corrupt Assemblies in which the conclusions were determined by the will of the king and his council, and for the long period of twenty years the Assemblies, convened occasionally and not annually, were all of this description.

The last free Assembly had announced the next meeting to be held at St. Andrews on 27th April, 1597. It was disallowed by the king, and though constituted by the retiring moderator, Robert Pont, with a very small attendance, no business was done. The king called an Assembly to meet at Dundee on 1st May, which was followed by another at the same place in March, 1598, and at these meetings, and also at the next Assembly, similarly called, meeting at Aberdeen in July, 1599, and at another in Montrose in March,

1600, the proceedings of the Perth Assembly were ratified, and the articles left over at that meeting discussed, and for the most part agreed to. It was resolved that a certain number of ministers should have a seat in parliament, and that their number should be fifty-one, to correspond with that of the bishops, abbots and priors who held that position under the old regime. One venerable minister protested against this, John Davidson of Prestonpans, who previously in the Synod of Fife had said of such a representative of the ministry in parliament: "Busk, busk, busk him as bonnily as ye can, and bring him in as fairly as ye will, we see him well enough; see how he setteth up the horns of his mitre." Ferguson of Dunfermline had compared the king's proposal to Sinon's gift of the horse to the city of Troy. But the king, with his usual duplicity, declared that he had no intention of bringing in papistical or Anglican bishops, but only to have the best and wisest of the ministers appointed by the General Assembly to sit upon their own matters, and have place to vote and advise in the Council and Parliament.

The king's relations with Mr. Robert Bruce, who for a long time had been his favourite minister and his most trusted counsellor, now became severely strained. Bruce had often spoken plainly of the conduct of the king in associating with those who were known to favour popery, and gradually the cleft between the two had been widening. The king complained that the ministers inveighed against Huntly and the other popish lords, and said little against Bothwell. At last he brought the charge against Bruce of favouring Bothwell and being in league with him against the king. In consequence of the riot in Edinburgh on 17th December, 1596, Bruce had written a perfectly straightforward innocent letter to Lord Hamilton, asking him to head the noblemen who could represent the Presbyterian party among the councillors. Hamilton shrank from doing so, and sent a mutilated or adulterated copy of the letter to the king, who made it the occasion of a charge of disloyalty against Bruce. Ultimately, through the malice of the king, and the

weakness of the other ministers who feared the king's ill will, Bruce was deprived of his ministry in Edinburgh, on the pretext that he had not been ordained with the imposition of hands. After a fortnight's extremely bitter cavilling on the part of the king and his associates, the hands of the presbytery were laid on Mr. Bruce, and he was restored. In February, 1599, the king meanly deprived Bruce of a pension that he had for life from the rents of the Abbey of Arbroath, which he now gave to Lord Hamilton. Bruce appealed to the Court of Session. The king endeavoured to coerce the judges, but they nobly and boldly declared that they would resign their office before they would give judgment otherwise than according to justice, and with only one dissentient voice they declared in favour of Bruce. The king's hatred against Bruce knew no bounds. He said he hated him more than Bothwell. A further occasion of attack upon Mr. Bruce was found in connection with that minister's attitude with regard to the Gowrie Conspiracy of 5th August, 1600. A public thanksgiving for the king's escape was enjoined, but as many doubted the correctness of the representations made by the king, they refused to express themselves in the manner prescribed by the king's demand. For this refusal Bruce and other ministers were banished, and forbidden to preach in the king's dominions under pain of death. After a stay of six months in France, Mr. Bruce returned to Berwick in May, 1601, and in October following was allowed to go to his own home at Kinnaird. After repeated proposals to restore Bruce to his ministry in Edinburgh, the minister asked the king how long he should continue with his flock. "Even as I find ye," said the king, "to favour or disfavour me in your preachings." And so Bruce never preached again in Edinburgh. For some twenty years, with a short interval, he was in banishment in Inverness, returning in 1624 to Kinnaird, where he remained till his death in 1631.

At the close of a church convention held by the king at Holyrood in October, 1600, when the king had got rid of James Melville and other two whose opposition he feared,

by appointing them a committee on some other business, three ministers were nominated to bishoprics, Mr. David Lindsay to Ross, Mr. Peter Blackburn to Aberdeen, and Mr. George Gladstones to Caithness.

The last General Assembly held by the king in Scotland met at Holyrood in November, 1602. It was protested against as held at a different time and in a different place from those fixed by the previous Assembly. Its whole business consisted in establishing the powers and position of the visitors of provinces as bishops. Opposition was shown to the renewal of Gladstone's commission, but this was overcome. The next Assembly was appointed to be held on the last Tuesday of July, 1604.

Meanwhile, the call came to the king for which he had been eagerly looking. Queen Elizabeth died on 24th March, 1603, and on 3rd April the king went to St. Giles for the last time to hear sermon. At the close of the service he made a speech, thanking God that before leaving he had been able to settle both the kirk and the kingdom of Scotland. It was now in that state, he said, which he meant not to alter or hurt in any way; and in order to see that all went peaceably and quietly he would revisit his Scottish kingdom once every three years. He also sent back a message with some of the ministers who met him on the way to urge the people to keep unity and peace, for his purpose was not to alter anything.

As the time approached for the meeting of the General Assembly in July, 1604, the king sent a communication by Lord Scone postponing the meeting until the following year. The presbytery of St. Andrews, nevertheless, sent its commissioners, one of whom was James Melville, who went to the place of meeting at the hour appointed, and protested formally and solemnly against the conduct of the king. A largely attended meeting of the Synod of Fife was held at St. Andrews in September, where it was agreed that an Assembly could be convened without the king's leave, but while admitting this was so, the king's commissioner advised them not to risk displeasing the king, and so,

after an extraordinary meeting of Synod had been held at Perth, they agreed to wait till 2nd July, 1605, to which time the Assembly had been prorogued, and then to meet in Aberdeen. In June word was sent to the Presbyteries to keep their representatives from going forward. In July only nineteen ministers ventured to appear in Aberdeen, and John Forbes of Alford, younger brother of Bishop Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen, and uncle of the famous Professor John Forbes of King's College, commonly called Forbes of Corse, was appointed moderator. When Straiton of Lauriston, the royal commissioner, read the king's letter commanding the Assembly to be immediately dissolved without appointing a day for its next meeting, the Assembly immediately adjourned, but not without appointing a day of meeting, which they fixed as the last Tuesday of the following September. Other brethren, having commissions as members of Assembly, reached Aberdeen on 5th July, detained by the weather or by mistake as to day of meeting, and they heartily approved of what had been done three days before. The Commissioner, who had protested against the lawfulness of the Assembly, reported the case to the Privy Council in Edinburgh, which immediately summoned before them John Forbes of Alford and John Welsh of Ayr, who was one of those who came too late, and sent them to Blackness on August 3rd, there to wait the king's pleasure. On 10th January, 1606, six ministers, who had been at Aberdeen, including Forbes and Welsh, were by the king's orders put on their trial for treason under the Black Acts of 1584. It was decided that refusal to own the jurisdiction of the Council was treason, and a packed jury, brow-beaten by judge and advocate, by a majority found them guilty. After an imprisonment in Blackness of some fifteen months, they embarked in November, 1606, from Leith for France. Forbes never returned to his native land, because he could not accept the conditions on which alone James could give his permission. He laboured as minister to Reformed congregations in Holland, first at Middleburg till

1621, and afterward in Delft. He died in Holland in 1634. He had published in 1616 at Middleburg *A Treatise tending to the Clearing of Justification*. The most distinguished man alongside of Forbes of those banished at this time from Scotland was John Welsh. Born in Dumfriesshire about 1568, he was successively minister of Selkirk, Kirkcudbright, and Ayr. He was charged before the Privy Council in January, 1597, with having said, in a sermon preached in the High Church of Edinburgh, that the king was possessed with a devil, and that on the outputting of that devil seven other devils had entered, and that as it was lawful for sons to bind a frantic father, it was lawful for subjects to bind the king in a like case. Not appearing to answer to the summons, he was outlawed and his estate forfeited. After six months he was allowed to resume his ministry, which was a remarkably fruitful one. On his subsequent banishment along with Mr. Forbes, he was obliged to move from one place to another in France till at last he settled down in St. Jean d'Angely. In broken health and evidently dying, he was allowed to come to London, where he died in 1622. Shortly before this his wife, a daughter of John Knox, vainly entreated permission from the king to have him taken down to Scotland. After treating her with great rudeness, the king said that if she could persuade her husband to submit to the bishops, he would grant her request. Lifting her apron, the heroic woman answered—"Please your Majesty, I would rather keep his head there."

The treatment which James gave to the Puritan ministers of England, who met him on his arrival with their Millenary Petition, that is, a petition signed by a thousand subscribers, gave a very clear indication of the course which he intended to pursue in his ecclesiastical policy. It was clear that he meant to support episcopacy, to do all in his power to secure conformity, and to crush in the most ruthless way every movement and endeavour of the nonconformists. He addressed a meeting of such, embracing some of the most cultured and scholarly of their generation, men whose names were known all over Europe, mentioned everywhere with

reverence and honour, even by their opponents, as though they had been the most disreputable ingredients of an ignorant and ill-conditioned mob. Such, too, was the king's treatment of honourable and learned men in the Hampton Court Conference of 14th January, 1604. He who had declared in Scotland that the Presbyterian discipline was the purest in Christendom, now declared that the Scotch Presbytery agreed with Monarchy as well as God and the devil. He said—"I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony," and he declared he could listen to no one discussing how far he was bound to obey. "I will make them conform," he said, "or I will harry them out of the land."

In May, 1606, the two Melvilles, and six other Scottish ministers who had been present at the Aberdeen Assembly, and had declared themselves in sympathy with the holding of it and the maintenance of the Presbyterian principles which this implied, were summoned to appear before the king in London to confer upon the affairs of the Church in Scotland. They were compelled to listen to four pretentious, but really ridiculous, sermons, which they must have regarded as a very travesty of preaching, the most absurd of all being that of bishop Andrewes on the two trumpets of Numbers x. 2. At the conference one after another of the eight Scottish ministers was required to state his opinion of the Aberdeen Assembly. Andrew Melville was the first to be examined. "He talked all his mind," says his nephew, "in his own manner, roundly, soundly, fully, freely, and fervently, for almost the space of an hour, not omitting any point he could remember. The other ministers maintained the same view, and spoke firmly and decidedly in favour of all that they and their friends had done. As the king closed that session and was going out, he turned round and asked what remedy they could propose for the healing of the wounds of the kirk; and they all answered—a free Assembly. Another service which the Scottish ministers were forced to attend was so offensive in the obtrusive use of popish ornaments and articles of ritual, that Andrew

Melville could not refrain lampooning the affair in a set of Latin verses. These falling into the hands of the king, were made an excuse for summoning him to Whitehall. Archbishop Bancroft presided at the examination, and had the hardihood to denounce the author of the lampoon as guilty of treason. Melville at once broke out upon the unfortunate prelate, declaring that he had never given occasion to be branded as a traitor, but that he threw the charge back upon him who ventured to make it against him. He charged Bancroft with treason against his Majesty, and drew from his breast a book which the unhappy author no doubt with all his heart wished to be in oblivion. This book, entitled *Scotizing Genevating Discipline*, written during Elizabeth's reign, opposing the king of Scotland's title to the English Crown. And when bishop Barlow intervened to hide the archbishop's confusion, the fearless Scottish minister turned upon him for having unchurched the king, and having made him of no religion, by saying that the king was in the kirk of Scotland, but not of it. Melville was ordered to wait the king's pleasure in the house of the dean of St. Paul's. After waiting there for four months, and spending other two months with his own friends, he was summoned before the Council and committed to the Tower. There he remained from the beginning of May, 1607, till the 19th of April, 1611, when he was released at a request made through the English Ambassador in France, in order that he might accept a Divinity Chair in the university of Sedan. Here he continued to teach during the remaining years of his life. He died in 1622, in his seventy-seventh year. He was distinctly the man needed to fight the battles of his church in such an age. Uncompromising and incorruptible, absolutely fearless and gifted with a wonderful command of clear and forcible language, he invariably succeeded in uttering his opinions in sayings of the most memorable kind. His temper was fiery no doubt. It was a prophet of fire that was needed then. "If my anger go downward," said he, "set your foot on it and put it out; but if it go upward, suffer it to rise to its place."

James Melville was sent to Newcastle, under strict orders not to go ten miles out of the town. He was afterwards allowed to go to Berwick, where he died in 1614. The other six ministers were ordered to confine themselves to certain towns in Scotland. Thus were all the leading supporters of Presbytery removed or silenced, while, by means of his creatures in the Parliament and among the ministers, James carried out his despotic measures, and introduced one by one into the Scottish Church all those offices and ceremonies which her best members had so long and so zealously opposed.

The Scottish Parliament held in Perth in July, 1606, restored the estate of bishops, giving them their old privileges, rank and revenues, and their right to sit and vote in parliament. A General Assembly sat in Edinburgh on 10th December, consisting of nobles and statesmen and ministers selected by the king as favourable to his views. It was resolved to appoint perpetual or constant moderators for Presbyteries, to make the resident bishop or his vicar constant moderator of the Provincial Synod and of the Presbytery, and to make refusal to receive such moderator a charge of rebellion. This injunction was generally disregarded. At the Synod of Perth which met in the spring of 1607, Lord Scone, the king's commissioner, insisted that Lindsay, bishop of Brechin, should be held moderator, but the retiring moderator, notwithstanding the outrageous and indecent violence of the commissioner, called the roll for the free election of a moderator, and Mr. Henry Livingston was elected and duly constituted at the meeting. At the close of the first sederunt, the doors of the church were locked against the Synod, which held its second session in the open air. Through time most of the Presbyteries submitted, and as the Synods were generally obstinate, their meetings were suspended. The Linlithgow Assembly of 1608 appointed a Conference to meet at Falkland on 4th May, 1609, at which twenty commissioners from the Assembly, five bishops and five of their adherents, with ten anti-prelatical ministers, met with the Earl of Dunbar, Lord Scone, and several

barons. The result of this conference was so far favourable to the prelatical party. It was resolved that no protest against the bishops should be presented to next parliament in July, and consequently measures in their favour were passed in that parliament without question. Seeing, however, that little real progress could be made by means of conferences, the bishops applied to the king and obtained from him, by letter of date 10th February, 1610, Courts of High Commission, one for St. Andrews, another for Glasgow, which, on Spottiswoode's translation to St. Andrews in December, 1615, were merged into one. This court was invested with power to suspend and depose ministers and outlaw the contumacious. The full court numbered over forty members, but the archbishop and four others made a quorum, and against their decision there was no appeal. In ecclesiastical matters this court had the power which the Privy Council had in civil matters, and, alike in constitution and in procedure, it was arbitrary and oppressive, and offensive to all the traditions of a free people.

The king now summoned Spottiswoode of Glasgow, Hamilton of Galloway, and Lamb of Brechin to London, where they were duly consecrated by a commission of four English bishops. On their return to Scotland, they consecrated Gledstones of St. Andrews, and others who had been designated to Scottish bishoprics.

The Assembly of 1616 met in Aberdeen in August, and was presided over by Spottiswoode, archbishop of St. Andrews. During the first four days nothing was done beyond listening to sermons, eight being preached in that time, renewing old acts and framing new ones against papists. But when most of the south country ministers, wearied out by this routine, had left, a commission was appointed to frame a new liturgy, a new catechism, a new book of canons for discipline, and a revision of the Confession that was to take the place of the King's Confession. This Aberdeen Confession is not only meagre in its utterances on church government and discipline, but even on doctrinal points was sufficiently vague to leave room for those of prelatical and

popish tendencies. Thus its statement on justification might be accepted by holders of the Romish doctrine which makes it consist in the infusion of righteousness. As an evasive, trimming document, hollow and untrue, it was quite unsuccessful, and never exercised any real influence in the church.

After an absence of fourteen years, James remembered his promise to visit Scotland once every three years, and in May, 1617, he came to Edinburgh, and attended divine service conducted after the English fashion. He had attempted an elaborate decoration of Holyrood Chapel with pictures and statues, and only with a bad grace desisted when he found himself opposed by a strong public opinion which might have expressed itself in a disagreeable manner. At a parliament held in June, a protest against innovations was read, signed by over fifty ministers. This gave great offence to the king, and the ministers who had been chiefly active in drawing it up were arraigned before the High Court of Commission and severely punished. The one on whom the king's wrath fell most severely was David Calderwood of Crailing, near Jedburgh. Born in 1575, and ordained in 1604, he ranked very high as a controversial author and historian. He was treated with great severity by the king, who was present at his trial in the court, and sentenced to perpetual banishment. The weather was stormy and severe, but the king said that if he drowned in the seas he might thank God that he had escaped a worse death. The most urgent entreaty of his friends could only at last secure a postponement till 29th August, 1619, when he sailed for Holland. In his exile he wrote his famous treatise: *Altare Damascenum*. When one of the bishops jauntily declared that he would answer it: "Answer what, man?" said the king, "There is nothing here but scripture, reason and the fathers." His voluminous *History of the Church of Scotland* is a most valuable storehouse of facts and documents. Returning to Scotland in 1624, he became in 1638 minister of Pencaitland, near Haddington, and died in 1651. At this parliament the king wished to legalise other ceremonial

innovations, but the bishops dissuaded him from doing so, and this further aggression was reserved for the Assembly of the following year.

The finishing touch was given to the work of overthrowing presbytery in Scotland and conforming the church in discipline and worship to that of England by the Assembly at Perth in 1618, the last that was held during the reign of James. Calderwood wrote an account of it, condemning its decisions, and Lindsay, then minister of Dundee, afterwards bishop, first of Brechin, and next of Edinburgh, wrote another narrative, defending its articles. Spottiswoode, the moderator, bullied and threatened the minister, who seemed unwilling to agree with the king's demands. Bishop Patrick Forbes preached the opening sermon, and after that Spottiswoode himself preached for two hours on the necessity of ceremonies and the propriety of those proposed to be introduced. It was declared by the moderator that only ministers with commissions could vote, but all noblemen and barons sent by the king would have that right. A letter from the king was read by the Dean of Winchester, maintaining that the articles presented must be accepted as they stood, and that he claimed the right of disposing of all things external in the church as he pleased. Spottiswoode said that every minister not consenting to the articles would be banished or deprived of office. The famous Five Articles of Perth were as follows;—1. Kneeling at the Communion; 2. Private Communion for the Sick; 3. Baptism to be on the next Lord's day after the birth, and in case of need in private houses; 4. Episcopal Confirmation of the young; and 5. The Observance of Holidays, especially days commemorating the birth, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord and his sending down of the Spirit. These articles were voted on as a whole, and not singly, as the king had so insisted. The question put was, whether the Assembly would obey his majesty in admitting the articles or would refuse to do so. Notwithstanding all the management exercised in the choice of members, and the persistent threats that were used, one nobleman, one doctor, and forty-five ministers

voted in opposition, while others declined to vote. The people of Scotland were strongly opposed to these innovations, deserted the churches where ministers conformed, and crowded the churches where the old forms of worship were continued. A parliament in 1621 ratified the Articles of Perth; but even here there was opposition, and fifteen noblemen and forty-four commissioners from counties and burghs voted in the minority, and the majority of twenty-seven was obtained only after a promise had been given that no further innovations would be proposed by the king. The High Court of Commission prosecuted rigorously all nonconformists, lay and clerical. But the more these severities were practised, the more determined did the people become to resist, and the bishops became the objects of almost universal hatred and scorn. In 1615 the king induced Robert Boyd of Trochrig, son of the first protestant archbishop of Glasgow, to leave Saumur, and become principal of Glasgow University and minister of Govan. During the seven years of his stay there he had under him such men as Blair, Livingston, and Baillie. He was one of the most learned men of his day. Being firmly opposed to the ecclesiastical policy of James, he resigned his office and retired to his estate in Ayrshire. He was appointed principal of the University of Edinburgh, and minister there in 1622, but after two months he was removed by the king. He died in June, 1627, and is now remembered by his colossal Latin Commentary on Ephesians. John Cameron, who succeeded Boyd in Glasgow, was a very famous scholar, but the story of his literary and theological activity belongs to the history of the French church and the universities of Sedan and Saumur.

The king persisted in his endeavours to reduce the ministers and the people of Scotland to conformity in worship; but this led only to the banishment or flight of the best of the ministers and to the setting up of private conventicles, where the people worshipped who could no longer conscientiously worship in the church. Assemblies no longer were called, and the bishops usurped the functions of the presbyteries. In the end of November, 1624, special injunctions

were issued by the king to the lords of Council and Session to appoint the Commission for the 25th of December, so that there might be a solemn observance of Christmas day. The outbreak of a plague was made the excuse for not fulfilling this command. The king was greatly enraged at this. The plague was of short duration and the mortality was extremely small, so that he regarded the action of the magistrates as dictated not by fear of the pest, but rather by reluctance to enforce unpopular ceremonies. He therefore resolved that the ceremonial should be observed with all due form on Easter day of 1625. He announced that any one who should refuse to give the communion that day, or to kneel on the receiving of it, or to conform in all particulars, should be deposed from the ministry. But before that day arrived both he who threatened and he who would have been the executioner of the threatening had been themselves summoned to the tribunal of the Judge of all. The Marquess of Hamilton died in the beginning of March, and on the 27th of March, 1625, the king died. And now to the weary and persecuted Scottish ministers there came a very brief breathing time.

CHAPTER VI.

*Struggles against Prelacy and the Establishment of Presbytery.**

A.D. 1625—1648.

THE young prince who now succeeded to the throne as Charles I. was in his twenty-fifth year. Though Scotch born and baptized by a Presbyterian minister, he was but three years old when he went with his father to England, and all his tastes and habits had been formed under the influence of English surroundings. When a deputation of the Scottish ministers waited upon him to urge the relaxation or withdrawal of the obnoxious Articles of Perth, they found that not only had he grown up in love with all the ceremonial and ritual of the English Church, but that he had inherited in the full measure his father's despotic ideas, and that like him he was determined that his personal will should be the determining principle in the government both of Church and State. Instead of listening to the grievances of the ministers, the young king wrote to Archbishop Spottiswoode to proclaim publicly that he was deter-

* Literature :—Peterkin, *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, Edin. 1838, pp. 1-192 ; Stevenson, *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, Edin. 1783 ; Lee, *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, Edin. 1860, Vol. II., pp. 220-267 ; Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland from 1558 to 1639*, Edin. 1842 ; *Autobiography of Robert Blair and Life by William Row to A.D. 1666*, Edin. 1848 ; Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, ed. by Laing, 3 vols., Edin. 1841 ; Spalding, *History of Troubles and Memorable Transactions in England and Scotland, 1624-1645*, Edin., 2 vols., 1830 ; Aiton, *Life and Times of Alexander Henderson : History of Second Reformation and the Covenanters*, London, 1836 ; Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly : its History and Standards*, London, 1883 ; Terry, *Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven*, London, 1899.

mined that the ordinances and injunctions of his father in regard to church policy and forms of worship should be strictly carried out. The bishops were now in a position to assert their most extravagant claims without restraint. They had no longer the check of General Assemblies. These meetings, even when the method of choosing their members was most objectionable, exercised a certain amount of control upon the hierarchical pretensions of the episcopate. But for the long period of twenty years, from 1618 to 1638, no Assembly whatsoever was convened. Presbyterianism as an organisation had ceased to exist in Scotland. The only courts continuing regularly to sit were the provincial and diocesan Synods, and there the whole work was done by the delegates of the bishops and the constant moderators. No one could obtain admission to any office of trust unless the bishops certified him as one who had conformed to the episcopal government of the church. Even the Town Council of Edinburgh was ordered by the king to elect only such magistrates as had agreed to the Articles of Perth. In one important particular the young king showed that he was prepared to go further even than his father. He nominated some of the Scottish bishops to the highest offices of state, and assigned to the Court of High Commission, in which four of the bishops sat, the cognizance of all manner of offences against acts of parliament, with authority to fine and imprison in the most arbitrary way without any proper legal process, and with absolute authority. Even James had refused to play fast and loose with his word to the extent which Laud would have had him do. He would not force the English liturgy and canons upon the stubborn kirk. He knew the stomach of that people better. But Charles did not understand these things as his father did. He at once yielded to the influence of Laud, whom his father had the good sense to distrust as a restless and reckless innovator. At the suggestion of his ecclesiastical counsellor, a new Scottish diocese was founded in Edinburgh, the archbishop of St. Andrews was made Lord Chancellor, and a book of canons was published on the sole authority of the

king ignoring presbytery and assembly, and assuming that the presbyterian system had no existence. A new liturgy took the place of Knox's Liturgy or the Book of Common Order. It was the composition of Laud himself, and in several respects it is distinctly more hierarchical and sacramentarian in its bearings than the authorised books of the English Church.

The marriage of the prince with Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry of Navarre, and sister of the reigning monarch, immediately after his accession, gave rise to serious misgivings as to the future policy of the king. Sprightly and fascinating as the young queen was, she was known to be fanatically attached to the Romish religion, and she soon showed herself an uncompromising asserter of the divine right and despotic authority of kings. By the marriage articles the king was pledged to allow the queen and all her domestics the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and the upbringing of her children till they reached the age of thirteen. She came accompanied by a bishop and twenty-nine priests, and a following of over four hundred male and female attendants. There had also been a secret treaty securing that Roman Catholics in England should not be sought out or persecuted for their religion. In view of this we cannot wonder that when a proclamation was made in Scotland against papists and nonconformists, it was soon observed that while the prosecution against the nonconformists was rigorously executed, enactments against papists were allowed to remain practically a dead letter.

Still nonconformity continued to prevail in Scotland. On Easter day, 25th March, 1627, communion was dispensed in the High Church in Edinburgh, according to the king's ordinance, but in all the towns there were not above six or seven that kneeled, and even some of the ministers did not kneel. And on the following Easter, in April, 1628, the Communion was not given in Edinburgh, but a general meeting was convened of all the ministers, together with two from each session that had conformed, and twelve or sixteen

of such as had not conformed, to consult together to see how the divisions could be healed. At this meeting it was admitted that one-half of the people of Edinburgh had not come to the communion during the last year, and so the archbishop of St. Andrews was asked that the ministers, who were all agreeable to this, should be allowed to give the communion in the good old way without kneeling. But to this he would not consent. This meeting therefore resolved to send a letter from all the ministers to the king asking him to allow the celebration of the communion without kneeling; and while doing this they promised the people that even should the king refuse, they would neither require them to kneel nor yet kneel themselves. The king was enraged on receiving this letter. He would not deign to recognise the ministers, but he wrote to the archbishop of St. Andrews, characterizing their conduct as presumption, and ordering him to summon them before him and to inflict condign punishment upon the chief authors of the letters, so as to intimidate others from attempting the like. And so communion was not given that year. In February, 1629, however, the ministers resolved to give the communion, but it was given amid much confusion, some of the ministers kneeling, some sitting, some standing, and similar confusion also among the people. Pulpit was set against pulpit, the same opinion being upheld eagerly in one and as eagerly contested in another. On Christmas day Mr. John Maxwell in the Little Kirk in Edinburgh inveighed against those who refused to keep such holy days, and in Leith on the same day Mr. David Forrester as vigorously denounced all those who paid any regard to such days of human appointment.

The influence of Laud was felt in doctrine as well as in discipline. He was as fanatical in his Arminian propaganda as he was in the dissemination of his hierarchical and high church ritual. He was bent on hounding Calvinism out of all the colleges and pulpits, and those who sought preferment knew that that was attainable only on condition of doctrinal agreement with the king's ecclesiastical guide.

The doctors of Aberdeen and St. Andrews, Forbes and Wedderburn, courting the patronage of the king and the bishop of London, seemed anxious to appear equally zealous in their support of the five Points of Arminianism and of the Five Articles of Perth.

Some of the best of the Presbyterian ministers were now in Ireland, where their labours were signally blessed. One of the most famous of these was Robert Blair. After teaching for some years in Glasgow, he was obliged by the rigorous enforcement of royal prelatial injunctions to leave Scotland ; and, at the invitation of a liberal-minded patron, went to the north of Ireland, where he was presented to the ministerial charge at Bangor. The bishop waived the question of episcopal ordination, and allowed him to be ordained by neighbouring presbyters. Under the primacy of archbishop Ussher, great latitude was given to ministers and people who scrupled at ceremonies and orders. Other Scottish ministers, such as the younger Welsh and the well-known Livingston, found in Ireland not only a refuge, but a field wherein they were able to labour with most encouraging success.

Another very eminent and popular minister who was greatly harassed and troubled in his work was David Dickson of Irvine. Born in Glasgow in 1583, he became a teacher of philosophy there under Boyd, was ordained minister in Irvine in 1613, and continued there for twenty-three years. Summoned early in 1622 by Archbishop Law of Glasgow to answer before the Court of High Commission for his objections made against the Five Articles of Perth, he was deprived of his ministry and banished to Turriff. In the place of his banishment he preached for the resident minister. Meantime the Earl of Eglinton and the people of Irvine persistently petitioned for his return, and he was allowed without condition to go back to his flock in the end of July, 1623. The result of his preaching all round Irvine was a great and widespread work of grace, accompanied by occasional outbursts of excitement, which in mockery was called the Stewarton sickness. In this work

he was assisted, after their return from Ireland, by Blair, Livingston, and others, all eminent at once as profound scholars, popular preachers, and most skilful and wise counsellors in all cases of spiritual anxiety and difficulty. Livingston, whose preaching was the means of a very memorable revival in Shotts in 1630, was with Blair in Ireland till deposed and excommunicated by the bishop of Down. They then had a vessel built for themselves and sailed for America, but, being nearly lost on the banks of Newfoundland, they returned to Ireland, and soon after to Scotland, and assisted Dickson in his work.

In 1633 Charles paid his first visit to Scotland, and was solemnly crowned at Holyrood on the 18th of June. That day week following a parliament was held, and the ministers prepared a petition setting forth their grievances to be presented by Mr. Thomas Hogg, the deprived minister of Dysart. This petition set forth that the votes in parliament of prelates who had no commission from the kirk vitiated all laws passed in these parliaments regarding church affairs, that measures passed by Assemblies instead of being ratified by Parliament had been added to, curtailed and changed, that the kirk had been deprived of annual Assemblies secured by Act of Parliament in 1592, that the Articles of Perth had been formerly rejected by the kirk, that new oaths different from the old ones authorised by the kirk were now imposed on entrants to the ministry, that ministers were censured and suspended by a judicature other than that provided by the constitution of the kirk—on each of these points relief was craved. As the Clerk Register, to whom such petitions were to be given in, was evidently disaffected, Mr. Hogg sought to present them directly to the king, who, on receiving the documents, without reading them, handed them over to some one beside him. As no notice was taken of the petition in the Parliament, some noblemen went with a copy to the king, to which, after consulting the bishops, he gave little heed. The Lords of the Articles were preparing a supplication, but before it could be signed by all who were willing to subscribe

their names, the parliament suddenly ended on 28th June. When the vote was called upon the measures proposed by the king, anent the royal prerogative and anent apparel of churchmen, his Majesty himself marked the names that objectors might be overawed. The Earl of Rothes, with fifteen earls and lords and several barons, and forty-four commissioners of counties and burghs, boldly voted against the measure. The Clerk Register claimed a majority for the king, which Rothes disputed. The king declared that the objector must go to the bar, charge the clerk with falsifying the note, with a sentence of death hanging on him should he fail to substantiate the charge. The earl declined the responsibility and risk, and in these circumstances the vote was allowed to pass. Yet this Act itself, and the manner in which it was passed, caused much offence and dissatisfaction to many of the Lords as well as to the people.

The evil counsellor of the king all this while was Laud, who was this year, on the death of Archbishop Abbot, raised to the primacy as Archbishop of Canterbury. Restless, narrow-minded, and despotic, he acted toward all who differed from him in an intolerably haughty and intolerant manner. It was said of him that if his religion were parted in four, it would be found that two parts were Arminian, a third part Popish, and scarce a fourth part Protestant. He so ruled the king that he was primate, patriarch, or cardinal of all Britain and Ireland. He was with the king during the whole of his visit to Scotland, and is largely responsible for the severe and uncompromising measures taken with the church.

The first bishop appointed to the new diocese of Edinburgh was Mr. William Forbes, one of the Aberdeen doctors, and author of *Considerationes Modestæ et Pacificæ*. He was accused of seeking to reconcile the Protestant and the Romish doctrines. When appointed to Edinburgh he was in extremely weak health and did not survive his elevation three months. It is curious to find a man of his ecclesiastical leanings charged with prolixity in preaching. He preached,

it is said, for five or six hours. He took up a very determined position in demanding conformity to all the requirements of the Perth Articles. He was succeeded in September, 1634, by Mr. David Lindsay, who had been minister in Dundee, and since 1616 Bishop of Brechin. He is best known for his violent and unscrupulous defence of the proceedings of the Perth Assembly of 1618 against David Calderwood.

The younger Scottish bishops were completely under the influence of Laud. They sought, therefore, to introduce without reserve all the innovations proposed by the English primate. Only in the matter of the liturgy they urged that the introduction of the English liturgy would be unpopular, as implying dependence upon another nation, and so they advised the preparation of a new form for the Scottish church. First of all the *Book of Canons* was prepared by the Scottish bishops, and revised and amended by Laud. This document pronounced all excommunicate who would not recognise the king's absolute prerogative, and who regarded the government of the church by bishops, or the worship contained in the Book of Common Prayer as corrupt. It obliged all the clergy to use the liturgy yet to be issued, branded all presbyteries and kirk sessions as irregular conventicles, prohibited all Assemblies not called by the king, imposed observances held by many to be superstitions, and by prescribing silence regarding confessions made by penitents seemed to pave the way for the practice of auricular confessions, employed expressions which apparently assumed that ordination is a sacrament.

In 1635 the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Kinnoul, having died, Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was promoted to that high office. For the purpose of carrying out the requirements of the Book of Canons, Courts of High Commission were set up in every diocese, so that any bishop, by associating with himself any six ministers whom he might choose, could sit in judgment on any person, without giving him the benefit of any legal process. It was in such a court

that Sydserf of Galloway pronounced sentence of banishment against Gordon of Earlston, and prosecuted the great Samuel Rutherford of Anwoth. The character of the new Book of Canons was soon understood, and awakened throughout Scotland feelings of bitter resentment against the government and the bishops, so that many of the nobles, who were furious at the grasping ambition of the prelates, secretly rejoiced at the irritating severity of the book.

In the end of 1613, the new liturgy, prepared and revised as the Book of Canons had been, was ready, and means were taken for immediately enforcing its adoption. It is based mainly on the Book of Common Prayer, drawn up by Maxwell, Wedderburn, Sydserf, and Bellenden, four Scottish bishops, under the supervision of Laud. Where it differed from the English service it was by approaching nearer to that of Rome. Thus in the consecration prayer phrases are introduced to favour the doctrine of the real presence. It was enjoined that the water in baptism should be consecrated, and the sign of the cross used in its administration, and that in the prayer for the Catholic Church there should be a thanksgiving for departed saints. Each priest was to possess at least two copies by Easter, and by some it was then used. Many objected to the book before they saw it, on the ground that nothing of this kind should be imposed without having been considered and approved by a General Assembly. An Act of Privy Council was obtained by the bishops, 15th June, 1637, ordering ministers under pain of outlawry to secure copies within a fortnight. So soon as there was time for examination, dissatisfaction with the substance of the book was freely expressed by all classes, nobles, ministers, and people. The archbishops of Edinburgh and Glasgow are said to have been doubtful about it. The king and his advisers, however, were determined that it should at once be introduced. The announcement was made from the pulpit of Edinburgh on 16th July, that the new book was to be read next Lord's day. And notwithstanding the ominous outcries and denunciations that were heard everywhere throughout all the week, the bishop and dean, sup-

ported by the Scottish primate and other two bishops, decided to make a start with it in St. Giles. At the very outset the disturbance began ; sticks and stones were thrown freely about. Jenny Geddes threw her stool at Dean Hanna, crying out indignantly ; “ False loon, dost thou say mass at my lug.” The dean fled in terror from his desk, and the bishop, who had gone to the pulpit, failed to make a word heard, and was saved only by the protection of the magistrates. Similar riots took place in other churches and all over Scotland. These outbursts were quite spontaneous, and not organised by the ministers as some have supposed. It really was the only effective way in which common people then could express their indignation against an outrageous infringement of their rights and liberties, and an intolerable tyranny in matters that touched their conscience deeply and affected what concerned them more than life itself.

All classes of the community were now roused against illegal impositions. Petitions to the Privy Council crowded in from all sides, and the council informed his majesty that it could not be denied that even those who had hitherto shown themselves willing to conform were manifesting a strong aversion to the new liturgy. Under the influence of Laud, the king gave no heed to the representations of the council. The nobility and gentry joined with the corporations in drawing up an accusation against the bishops for causing trouble between the king and the people. The most prominent and most highly respected citizens of Edinburgh spoke in threatening tones to the magistrates and Privy Council, and petitioners poured into the city from the country all round. The indignant people opposed to these innovations appointed commissioners to represent them, and to act for them. They were divided into four classes called Tables—first of all, the nobles who chose to attend ; second, two gentlemen from every county ; third, one minister from every presbytery ; and fourth, one or two representatives from every burgh. Each Table sat separately and consulted by itself, and a committee composed of four deputies

from each, called a General Table, resided in Edinburgh to act on behalf and in name of the whole body.

In a proclamation issued by the Tables, they protested that the Book of Canons and the liturgy contain the seeds of superstition and idolatry, are full of novelties that violate their liberties, laws and established religion, prevent the accusing of bishops who could be proved guilty, support the Court of High Commission which is unconstitutional and tyrannical, that the Tables reject the bishops as highest judges, and that they cannot desist from meeting to defend purity of worship and the liberty of the church. Thirty of the principal of the nobility of Scotland joined this movement. The combination was now formidable, and attempts were made to introduce divisions among them and cause alienation. Delusive promises were made on condition of their dispersing. In order, therefore, to bind them all together in firmer bonds, the Tables at Edinburgh summoned a meeting of petitioners at which they might renew the National Covenant. A fast was appointed, and held on the 26th February, 1638, and the ministers urged the people to gather and solemnly sign the Covenant. The document was drawn up by Alexander Henderson and Johnston of Warriston, and revised by the Earls of Rothes and Loudon and Lord Balmerino. On the 28th February it was signed in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh. The first to sign it was the Earl of Sutherland, followed by multitudes of all ranks and classes. It was done with great solemnity. The action had the sanctity of a sacred oath. Some in their enthusiasm opened a vein in their arms and signed the Covenant with their blood. It was a comparatively short and simple declaration. It called on its subscribers to resist popery, it defended the presbyterians against the charge of rebellion, and held all solemnly bound to be true to the reformed religion, to their allegiance to the king and to the liberties and laws of the kingdom. In all parts of the country the people flocked out to sign it. Even in the North large numbers subscribed it, and Aberdeen was the only place of note in which it was not well received.

Spottiswoode, when he heard of what was done, was completely overcome. "Our work of thirty years," he cried, "is overthrown at a single stroke." He fled to London, and died there, 26th November, 1639, in his seventy-fifth year. He was undoubtedly the ablest and most statesmanlike of all the post-reformation bishops in Scotland. As the son of the good superintendent of the age of Knox, he was regarded as a renegade and a degenerate. He was naturally hated and distrusted by those whose cause he had betrayed. There is scarcely any trace of personal religion in his life. He was not scrupulously truthful either in his speech or in his writings. His Sunday travelling and the general worldly tone of his life were offensive to good men. He seems to have had an intense dislike of all pious and spiritually-minded men. He was, however, a shrewd, capable man, and a good administrator. It was against his will that the Book of Canons and the Liturgy were imposed. He understood the people better than the younger bishops and Laud. He had wrought hard, but his life was a failure, and his work perished with him.

The leader of the Covenanters, who had taken the field determined to resist and overthrow all the work of royal and prelatial tyranny, was Alexander Henderson. Born at Creich, in Fifeshire, in 1583, graduated at St. Andrews in 1603, while Andrew Melville was still teaching there, and presented to the parish of Leuchars in 1612 by Archbishop Gledstones, he belonged to the unpopular but state favoured party, won his settlement in opposition to the wishes of the people, and had to enter the church by one of the windows. A sermon by the apostolic Robert Bruce in 1615 on the text: "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber," was the turning point in his career. At the Perth Assembly of 1618, of which he was a member, Henderson vigorously opposed the passing of the obnoxious Articles. That in the course of the next eighteen years, in respect of which we have no record of his labours, Henderson had risen to high esteem and eminence in the church is evident from this,

that Spottiswoode made the trial with him as to the enforcing of the use of the liturgy. Evidently it was assumed that if he were persuaded to yield much was won. By sheer force of talent and character, this country minister stepped in to the first rank among his countrymen. He was the most influential man in organizing the Tables and arranging for the signing of the Covenant. He was now in his fifty-fourth year, his views matured, his reputation established. Everyone had confidence in his wisdom. He was calm and courteous, yet unflinching in his adherence to his convictions, the very man needed to deal with the artifices of the king.

When word was brought to Charles of what had been done, he quickly perceived that a crisis had arisen which called for energetic, but at the same time very wise and careful statesmanship. He immediately sent down the Marquess of Hamilton as his commissioner. In his private instructions the Marquess was told that he might make any promises he pleased to the Covenanters if only he could hold them back and give him time to prepare to crush them. He therefore sought to conciliate them, only to find that vague general assurances were of no account. Nothing would satisfy them short of a free Assembly, and a parliament to ratify its measures. When this was refused and something less offered, it was ominously hinted that an Assembly might be held without the king's call or approval. At last, when it was known that preparations had been made to resist force by force, and that already General Leslie, that old crooked soldier, had been recalled from the Low Countries, to take command in a campaign if need be, the king yielded all that his Scottish subjects demanded. A General was summoned by the king, through the Privy Council, to meet in Glasgow on the 21st November, 1638, and a parliament at Edinburgh on 15th May, 1639.

A declaration by the king was publicly proclaimed which prohibited the enforcement of the Book of Canons, the liturgy, and the Five Articles of Perth, abolished the Court of High Commission, cancelled the new oath imposed on entrants to the ministry, granted a general pardon of

offences committed during the late contentions, appointed a fast in view of the distractions in church and state, and enjoined subscription to the Confession and Covenant of 1581. This declaration not only came too late, but it contained elements in it with which keen sighted defenders of spiritual independence could not be satisfied.

About this time a commission was sent by the Tables, consisting of Messrs. Henderson, Dickson and Cant, together with several nobles, to Aberdeen to discuss with the doctors and people there the meaning and purpose of the Covenant, and to secure, if possible, their adhesion to it. Andrew Cant had been minister of Alford, and then of Pitsligo, and through his influence most of the presbyterians of Alford and Deer had subscribed, but in Aberdeen and its neighbourhood comparatively few signatures could be got. Cant was minister of Aberdeen from 1640, but, shortly before his death, was deposed by the bishop of Aberdeen in 1663.

The memorable Glasgow Assembly met on the day for which it had been summoned, 21st November, 1638. The Marquess of Hamilton was the king's commissioner, and Alexander Henderson was almost unanimously elected moderator, and Archibald Johnston, afterwards Lord Warriston, was elected clerk. There was, it is said, one hundred and forty-three ministers present, these being sent from most of the fifty-three presbyteries, also professors from the universities, and ninety-five ruling elders. An attempt had been made to impose a condition preventing the election of lay representatives, but this could not on any account be yielded by the Covenanters. The presence of these lay elders was made a pretext by the bishops for declining the jurisdiction of the Assembly. The covenanting lords and barons, including all the noblemen of note in Scotland, were there also, and took an important part in the proceedings. It was most fortunate for this Assembly that it had so cool and capable a moderator as Henderson. The commissioner sought eagerly to sow dissension among the members, but the moderator's tact never failed him. At

last it became evident to Hamilton that it was impossible for him to ferment bad feeling or introduce internecine strife, and so, over the Assembly's refusal to accept the declaration of the bishops, the Commissioner demanded the dissolution of the Assembly. Henderson, and the Earls of Rothes and Loudon, said that they would regret the departure of the Commissioner, but even should he go, they would not dissolve. In the exercise of the royal prerogative, the Commissioner called on the moderator to close the Assembly. Henderson refused. All the nobles and ministers and representative elders there were with him, and he knew that he had the country at his back. The Marquess then dissolved the Assembly in the king's name, and went out. The Assembly sat on and proceeded with the business that they had on hand. "Seeing we perceive his Grace," said the moderator, "to be zealous of his royal master's commands, have not we as good reason to be zealous toward our Lord, and to maintain the liberties of His kingdom." The sessions of this Assembly lasted for about a month, and the work was very thoroughly and deliberately done. The Assemblies held under James were declared to be unfree, unlawful, and null; prelacy was declared to be contrary to the principles of the Scottish Church, and the presbyterian government was restored. The prelates were solemnly deposed, the Articles of Perth, the Book of Canons, and the Liturgy were renounced. At the close of the Assembly on the 20th December, 1638, after he had pronounced the benediction, Henderson said:—"We have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel, the Bethelite." We have a list of seventy-two Acts passed by this Assembly, many of them referring to matters of detail and arrangement. Among them is one removing Henderson from his ministry at Leuchars to Edinburgh, where he continued to minister till his death in 1646.

Many of the best men testify to the spiritual awakening that accompanied and sprang from this conflict for civil and spiritual liberty. Pastors and people felt in a singular manner the presence of the Lord among them and his favour

toward them. "Over a great part of the country," says Kirkton, "you could hardly lodge in a family where there was not family worship. You could ride far without hearing the sound of an oath. I verily believe there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time than in any season since the Reformation, though of treble its duration. Nobody complained of our church government more than the taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was that their trade was broken, the people had become so sober." The records of kirk sessions of the period, if rightly read, tell the same tale. They present certainly many a dark page, but this simply shows the faithfulness and minuteness, sometimes an overminuteness amounting to inquisitorial prying into the details of private and family life, which characterised the supervision taken by ministers and kirk sessions of those under their care. The elder visited his district monthly, and reported to the session everything that he regarded as wrong or questionable.

Even before the meeting of the Assembly of 1638 both the king and the covenanters had been making preparations for war. The dissolution of that Assembly by the Commissioner, and the defiance of the king's authority by the Assembly, which continued to sit for three weeks after the Marquess's departure, and the character of the measures passed during these sessions, made the king resolve to proceed to extremities. Hamilton had suffered seriously in health, and it was not till the 5th of January that he reached London and explained fully to the king how matters had gone. Charles was greatly enraged, and at once pushed forward his preparations for war. He had gathered from various sources a considerable amount of money, and had raised an army of some thirty thousand horse and foot. He summoned his forces to meet at York on the 1st of April. The covenanters had been well informed about the king's secret preparations. They had got from the continent not only their commander, General Leslie, but also quantities of arms and ammunition. On the 7th of March a Committee of Estates, consisting of twenty-six men chosen from nobles,

barons, and burgesses, and two senators of the College of Justice, was formed, to be an intelligence department, to levy troops, raise money, and make all other necessary arrangements. During that same month, Leslie and his officers took Edinburgh and Dumbarton Castles, as well as several castles in Lanark and Fife, while Stirling was held by Mar, one of their own party. Montrose had raised an army in the North, and held Aberdeen. In the West, too, Argyll had a considerable force. Leith was put into a state of defence, and something was done to protect the villages on the Fife coast.

A book forming a large folio volume of four hundred and thirty pages was published in the king's name about the middle of March. It was written by Dr. Balcanqual, Dean of Durham, son of a good faithful minister of Edinburgh. It is entitled *A Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland*, and presents a very partial and one-sided statement of the king's policy, and a distorted and false view of the proceedings of the Scottish presbyterian and popular party. It was put forward by the king as a manifesto justifying his recourse to arms. The troops that reached York in the beginning of April moved northward to Newcastle in the beginning of May, and from thence to a point near Berwick. He now discovered that there was a considerable amount of disaffection spreading in the army, and that in the present state of feeling it would be dangerous to bring them into conflict with a thoroughly unanimous and united enemy. Meanwhile the Marquess of Hamilton was moving northward with his fleet of twenty vessels, and entered the Firth of Forth and cast anchor in Leith Roads on the 1st of May. When he found how matters were with the land troops, he was glad to get away in safety. The king was indisposed to fight, and began issuing a series of proclamations. His army was weak and wavering, there was no heart in it for the conflict, his treasury was nearly exhausted; whereas the Scottish troops gathered round their general at Dunse Law were full of enthusiasm and eager for the fight, but anxious, owing to

their limited means, to make the campaign as short as possible. Understanding the mind of the king, the leaders of the Scottish army sent a supplication to the king, and on the 18th June, Articles of Pacification were signed. The king agreed that all ecclesiastical matters should be determined by an Assembly of the Kirk, and civil matters in a Parliament, and that Assemblies be held once a year, or as determined at next General Assembly; that a free General Assembly be kept at Edinburgh on the 6th August next, and a Parliament on 20th August to ratify the proceedings of the Assembly. In consideration of this arrangement, the Scots were to disband their forces, restore to the king the castles, forts, regalia, etc., desist from meetings not sanctioned by Parliament; all which the Covenanters agreed to do by the 20th of June. But while they did all this most heartily, they had so many painful experiences of the king's duplicity and changeableness, that they took the precaution to retain the services of their officers by putting them on half pay.

Charles only yielded to necessity, and had evidently no intention of allowing episcopacy to be overthrown in Scotland. He sought, therefore, to ignore the proceedings of the Assembly of the former year, and hoped that he might so manipulate the coming Assembly that the Presbyterian polity would be overthrown and Episcopacy restored. On the 6th day of August the Earl of Traquair had his commission signed, and on the 12th August, 1639, the Assembly met in Edinburgh. Mr. David Dickson of Irvine was elected moderator. Though the king had insisted that the previous Assembly should not be referred to, this Assembly refused in any way to repudiate the last, and Acts were passed at this Assembly which secured precisely the same results reached by the one objected to. It was ordained that the Service Book, Book of Canons, and Court of High Commission should be rejected, that the Articles of Perth be not enforced, that episcopal government and civil work and office for churchmen are unlawful, that the pretended Assemblies of Linlithgow in 1606 and 1608, of

Glasgow in 1610, of Aberdeen in 1616, and of Perth in 1618, be regarded as null, and that for the future General Assemblies be regularly convened yearly, and oftener *pro re nata*, that kirk sessions, presbyteries, and synods be constituted according to the order of the kirk. Special notice was taken of the *Large Declaration*, and the Committee drew up an elaborate report upon it. It was pronounced dishonourable to God, to the king's majesty, to this National Kirk, and to be stuffed full of lies and calumnies, and to have miserably wrested their intentions, words, and actions. These several charges were proved in detail and illustrated by quotations from the offensive document. The Assembly resolved to represent to his Majesty that he might be pleased to call in the book and suppress it, so as to show his dislike to it, that he should give commission to cite all persons known or suspected to be the authors of it, and especially Dr. Balcanqual, well known to have a principal hand in its preparation, and by this exemplary punishment to deter others from such dangerous and seditious courses. The Commissioner assented to all the measures passed by the Assembly. The Parliament which had been promised to follow the Assembly, met on the 31st of August. It is evident that the king's Commissioner hoped that the Estates would refuse to ratify the measures passed in the Assembly, and so, when it became evident that Parliament was ready to confirm these Acts, renounce Episcopacy, and not insist upon the royal prerogative, after vainly protracting the meeting till the middle of November, he at last prorogued the Parliament to the 2nd of June, 1640. Before the Parliamentary Commissioners sent to protest against the prorogation and to defend the proceedings of Parliament reached London, hostilities had been renewed, and war had been again proclaimed.

The repudiation by Charles of the Articles of Pacification and his denunciation of his Scottish subjects as rebels did not find the Covenanters unprepared. Their officers were still on pay, and they were in a position very speedily to find arms and men. The Scottish Parliament had been

prorogued to meet on the 2nd of June, 1640, and on that day the members convened, declared themselves a lawful parliament, and, in the absence of the Royal Commissioner, chose Lord Burley as their president. Several important Acts were passed—bishops and ecclesiastics were to be excluded from all subsequent parliaments, the Acts of the last General Assembly were ratified, and the sole power of jurisdiction in the church was declared to lie in the general, provincial, and presbyterial assemblies. On 24th August a Scottish army of 23,000 foot and 3,000 horse crossed the English border and advanced to the Tyne. After meeting and putting to flight the English army, they took possession of Newcastle and Durham, obtaining large supplies of arms and provisions. Having been thus far victorious they presented a petition to the king for repairing of their wrongs. A treaty was begun at Ripon and negotiations were then transferred to London, the Earls of Rothes and Dunfermline, Mr. Henderson, and others, being commissioners. They demanded the publication of the Acts of the late Parliament in the king's name, that Scottish fortresses should be kept by Scotsmen, that their countrymen in England and Ireland should not be forced to take oaths inconsistent with their covenant, that the nation should be indemnified for the loss by the war, that public incendiaries should be punished, and that the religion and liberty of the nation should be secured by a permanent peace. These concessions having been at last wrung from Charles, accusations were made against Laud and Stafford.

The Covenanters now lost two adherents whose names and performances had up to this time been very much in evidence. The Earl of Rothes, eloquent and able, and hitherto most helpful, though not in life and conduct sympathetic with the religious men of his party, now joined the king, tempted by the prospect of a rich marriage and the promise of a high office of state. His change of front, however, affected no party for good or evil, for he died suddenly almost immediately after. The other renegade was the Marquess of Montrose. He ought to have been a

Royalist from the first. Wounded pride at what he regarded as a cold reception from the king when he first appeared at court, led him to cast in his lot with the Covenanters, to whom he rendered brilliant service in the North. Disappointed that the chief command should have been given to Leslie, and also at the favour shown to Argyll, he opened up a secret correspondence with the king. When Charles paid his visit to Scotland, Montrose's perfidy had been discovered, and he had been thrown into prison, while a letter of his to the king which had been intercepted proved most damaging to the king's reputation, as an evidence of his insincerity. The Scottish Parliament of 1641 was opened by the king on the 17th of August, and he showed himself as conciliatory as possible. The parliament insisted on having the appointment to offices of state, which the king reluctantly surrendered. In the struggle for office that ensued, dissensions first began to arise among the covenanting nobles.

Shortly before the king's arrival in Scotland a General Assembly had met in St. Andrews, and was transferred to Edinburgh. Here it was for the first time proposed to draw up a model of church government that might apply to England as well as Scotland, and thus secure uniformity of worship and discipline throughout the united kingdom. A great interest had been awakened in England in the Scottish Presbyterian services, and a considerable number of the more pious and evangelical of the English ministers and people seemed disposed in large measure to approve of the Confession and forms of worship of the Scottish Church. This subject received much attention at the Assembly of 1642, which met at St. Andrews on the 27th July. In answer to a declaration sent from the parliament of England on behalf of a firm and stable union, this Assembly declared that, as religion is not only the means of the service of God and the saving of souls, but is also the base and foundation of kingdoms and estates, so for securing lasting union there should be one Confession of Faith, one directory of worship, one public catechism, and one form of kirk government. It seemed as

if this pious wish might be realised, when on the 7th of August, 1643, Commissioners from both Houses of Parliament reached Leith, and on the 11th were presented to the Assembly. These Commissioners were Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye, with Sir Henry Vane, the younger, and other three gentlemen. They were commissioned to ask that the Scottish Church should send representatives to assist them in their work of reformation. This the Assembly heartily granted, and nominated and elected Alexander Henderson, Robert Douglas, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Baillie, George Gillespie, ministers; and the Earl of Cassillis, Lord Maitland, and Johnston of Warriston, elders. As a bond of union the *Solemn League and Covenant* was drawn up by Henderson, and on 17th August adopted by the Assembly and ratified by the Convention of the Estates of the realm. The full title of this document was—"A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland." This covenant was to be carried up by the Scottish Commissioners that it might be received and approved by the Parliament of England and the Assembly of Divines. With the exception of Douglas and Cassillis, all the commissioners proceeded to Westminster and took an important part in the labours of the Assembly meeting there. Messrs. Henderson and Gillespie and Lord Maitland were received on the 15th of September, and Rutherford and Baillie on 20th November. Members of Parliament and Assembly took the covenant on 25th September. Maitland, afterwards known as the Duke of Lauderdale, became one of the most heartless and profane of the persecutors, Johnston of Warriston one of the noblest sufferers for the cause of the gospel. The clerical members were the most distinguished for scholarship and churchmanship among all the ministers of the church in that age.

Robert Douglas, described as a silent, sagacious, masterful man, was required as a leader at home when so many great men were away. As their constant correspondent,

he kept them in touch with the Church of Scotland while they were at Westminster. He preached a memorable sermon at the coronation of Charles II.

Alexander Henderson had already played an important part in the history of the church, and, as distinctly the first and greatest man in the Second Reformation that culminated in the Assembly of 1638, deserves to rank with Knox and Melville as one of the three greatest reformers in the Scottish Church. His later years were years of incessant toil. He acted as chaplain to Charles, and his great abilities and statesmanlike qualities were clearly recognised by the monarch. Within five years he was three times moderator of the General Assembly. When in sore straits in May, 1646, the king invited Mr. Henderson to go to him. They had several interviews, and a correspondence was carried on between them on points of difference between prelatists and presbyterians. Henderson wrote calmly and courteously, but as might be expected nothing came of it all. He went home in sore sickness, and died 19th August, 1646, in his sixty-third year.

Samuel Rutherford is in some respects the greatest of all the great men of his time. As violent, to say the least of it, as any of them, verging often on the very extreme of fanaticism, yet profoundly learned and thoroughly up-to-date in scholarship; a subtle controversialist in all sorts of scholastic minutiae, and at the same time a fervent and fervid, many would say perfervid, preacher of the love of Christ. He was born somewhere about 1600, near Jedburgh, graduated at Edinburgh 1621, and was ordained at Anwoth 1627. He was soon recognised as the greatest preacher and the most influential minister in the south of Scotland. He was a hard student and a faithful pastor, beginning his day at three o'clock in the morning and continuing till a late hour at night, reading, writing, catechising, and caring for his flock. He entered into learned controversy with the Arminians, wrote against the Articles of Perth, maintained presbyterianism against all its impugnors, demolished Antinomians and Independents, and vindicated civil and religious liberty

in his *Lex Rex: a Plea for the People's Rights*. From September, 1636, to February, 1638, he was in banishment in Aberdeen, and from that city he wrote most of his famous *Spiritual Letters*. After returning from the Westminster Assembly, where he took a very active part in the committee work, as well as in the debates, he carried on his work as professor of divinity at St. Andrews, to which office he had been appointed in 1639, preached regularly in the city as colleague to Mr. Blair, and held the office of Principal of the New College and Rector of the University. He strongly opposed the admission of malignants into office under Charles II., and was one of the most violent of the Protesters. *Lex Rex* had the honour of being burned in Edinburgh, London, and St. Andrews. He died on the 20th of March, 1661, answering from his deathbed the summons to appear at Edinburgh on a charge of high treason, "I behove to obey my first summons." "He had a higher tribunal to appear before," says Wodrow, "where his Judge was his friend."

George Gillespie, a minister's son, was born in Kirkcaldy in 1613, and studied at St. Andrews, but as churches were then reserved for those who would conform, he spent some time in the house of Lord Kenmure, and then in that of the Earl of Cassilis, as domestic chaplain. He made his first appearance in public as an author by the publication in 1637 of a work entitled, *A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies obruded on the Church of Scotland*. He was ordained to the Church of Wemyss on 26th April, 1638, much against the will of Archbishop Spottiswoode, and was the first in these times admitted by a presbytery without regard to the bishops. He was a member of the great Glasgow Assembly of 1638. In 1642 he was translated from Wemyss to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh. His great services in the Westminster Assembly are recognized by all. "None of all the company did reason more," says Baillie, "and more pertinently than Mr. Gillespie. That is an excellent youth: my heart blesses God in his behalf." In 1646 he issued his great work, entitled: *Aaron's Rod*

Blossoming: or The Divine Ordinance of Church Government Vindicated, dedicating it to the Assembly, and on the 30th July presenting copies to the Prolocutor and members then present, for which the Prolocutor thanked him in the name of the Assembly. He was one of the chief hands in framing the Directory for Worship and the Form of Church Government, documents bound up with the Confession of Faith. He took his leave of the Assembly on July 16th, 1647, and returned home. He was moderator of the General Assembly of 1648, which began its sittings on the 12th of July and closed on the 12th of August. His health was completely shattered. He was dying of consumption. He spent his last days in retirement in Kirkcaldy, where he died on the 17th of December, 1648, in his thirty-sixth year. Principal Lee says of his work, *An Assertion of the Government and Discipline of the Church of Scotland*, published in 1641, that it is incomparably the best account of the constitution of our National Church which has ever appeared.

Robert Baillie, the journalist and chronicler of the Assembly, was born in Glasgow 1599, educated there, and episcopally ordained in 1622, and settled at Kilwinning. Rejecting Laud's Service Book, he was a member of the Assembly of 1638, and distinguished himself for his moderation and prudence. He was present at Duns Law in 1639, acting as chaplain to the Scottish Covenanting army. In 1642 he was appointed professor of divinity in Glasgow, alongside of David Dickson. His somewhat loose and garrulous style has concealed from many the fact of his deep and varied learning. In the Westminster Assembly he was more of an observer than a debater, but the records show that on all important questions he had his own opinions and could express them. He took his leave of the Assembly and returned to Scotland on 25th December, 1646. His *Letters and Journals* form by far the most important source of information we possess regarding the proceedings of the great Assembly. In 1649 he went to Holland to invite Charles to take the covenant and to

accept the crown of Scotland, and after the Restoration he was appointed Principal of Glasgow University in place of Patrick Gillespie. He died at Glasgow in 1662.

These great men were conspicuous in the service which they rendered to their church and country. When they returned from their labours at Westminster, they brought with them carefully constructed documents, which embody the best thoughts of the age on doctrine and discipline from the standpoint of Calvinistic Presbyterianism. The Assembly of 1645 sanctioned the Form of Church Government and the Directory for Public Worship, while the Confession of Faith was adopted and the Metrical Version of the Psalms now used was approved, by the Assembly on 27th August, 1647. The Estates of Parliament ratified the adoption of the Catechism and Confession on 7th February, 1649.

So far as legislation could go the triumph of Presbyterianism was complete. Political complications soon led to divisions and disasters. It is often said that the ministers of Scotland in this age mixed themselves up far too much with civil and political controversies. In the circumstances in which they were placed, there was no possibility of neutrality. Not to take the part they did would have simply meant to give to the popish unreforming party all their own way. Peace loving men were drawn into the very front ranks of the battle. The civil and the ecclesiastical were inextricably mixed up together. The head of the civil government intruded himself into the ecclesiastical sphere, and sought from one point of view or another to make the church a department of the state. The great men of the church were sturdy loyalists, so far and so long as the king himself would allow them. They carried this loyalty too far. They remained loyal after the king had proved himself time after time untruthful and insincere. They continued to accept the king's word after he had clearly shown that it was worthless. When they agreed to surrender him to the English parliament, it was not because for any consideration they would give him up to death, but simply because they could not keep him without bringing about war with

England, and because they believed that he ought to satisfy his English parliament as he professed to satisfy them. The grand mistake they made was in entertaining the idea that by urging the adoption of the Covenant they could secure uniformity in worship and belief, descending to particulars and details in regard to which a certain amount of difference must always exist. It is wrong to say that the Covenanters secured adhesion to the Covenant by the use of physical force. The only one acting in their name who did this was Montrose in Aberdeen. But in many cases they certainly brought very strong pressure to bear upon those whom they sought to unite under this common bond. It should be remembered too that toleration as now understood and practised had not then been conceived of by any party. The time was not ripe for it. The principles of liberty could not be asserted and acted upon until certain constitutional safeguards had been erected against despotic arbitrariness on the one side, and whimsical individualism running out into licentiousness on the other. It is easy to sneer at the Covenanters as men who were intolerant against those whose intolerance toward them they had so vigorously denounced and condemned. It was only after the smoke and dust which the violent and long continued conflict raised had passed away that it became possible for men spiritually in earnest to see how they might rightly distinguish between fundamentals and non-fundamentals, how they might seek eagerly unity in the one, while learning not only to tolerate, but even to appreciate, diversity in the other.

CHAPTER VII.

*The Covenanters.**

A.D. 1648—1688.

THE leaders of the Covenanting party were convinced and earnest supporters of monarchy. Their allegiance to the king had been strained to the very utmost by his persistent faithlessness and utter disregard of his most solemn promises. They had abundant proof from the painful experience of many years that the concessions which Charles made to them were meant to be kept only till he found himself, or thought himself, strong enough to repudiate them. And yet, time after time they accepted his worthless assurances, and once and again they withdrew from advantageous positions which by hard struggles they had won, vainly clinging to the hope that the royal word might be better than a lie, or that the king, whom they loyally served, would rule over them in righteousness. But the most serious result to the

Literature :—Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, Edin. 1861, Vol. III., pp. 138-292 ; Mackenzie, *History of the Affairs of Scotland from 1660 to 1677* ; Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution (1720)*, 4 vols., Glasgow, 1828 ; Baillie, *Letters and Journals (1775)*, edited by David Laing, 3 vols., Edin., 1841 ; Lee, *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. II., 296-343 ; Dodds, *Fifty Years' Struggles of the Scottish Covenanters*, London, 1871 ; Bayne, *Chief Actors in the Puritan Revolution*, London, 1878 ; Masson, *Life and Times of John Milton*, Vols. IV.-VI., London, 1877 ; Napier, *Memoirs of Montrose (1613-1615)*, 2 vols., Edin., 1840 ; Napier, *Memorials and Letters of Grahame of Claverhouse (1650-1693)*, 3 vols. Edin. 1859 ; Howie, *Scots Worthies (1781)*, edited by W. H. Carslaw, Edin. 1870 ; M'Crrie, *Memoirs of William Veitch and others (important sketches of Covenanting history)*, Edin. 1825 ; Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate (1649-1660)*, 2 vols., London, 1897.

Covenanters of their attachment to the cause of the king was the division introduced into their ranks on account of the views taken by parties or individuals among them as to the length which they might go, and the concessions which they might make, in order to continue giving countenance to his government. Those of the party of the Covenanters inclined to go as far as possible in the direction of meeting the royal proposals, headed by the Duke of Hamilton and the Earls of Lanark and Loudon, entered into an *Engagement* with the king, in the autumn of 1647, under which he agreed to give parliamentary sanction to the Solemn League and Covenant, to establish presbyterianism in England for three years, the royal household being allowed to observe their own form of worship, and to call a meeting of divines at the end of the three years to determine upon a scheme of ecclesiastical polity in accordance with the Word of God. Only a few of the Scottish presbyterian ministers, of whom Baillie was the most distinguished, could be induced to join this party. The principles upon which they acted were throughout political rather than religious.

When the terms of the *Engagement* came to be understood, all the clear-sighted among those who had supported the principles of the Covenant in Scotland, and almost all who had attached themselves to the party from personal conviction and on distinctly religious grounds, assumed an attitude of determined opposition to it, and denounced those who had accepted it as traitors to the cause and aiders and abettors of the malignants. The controversies over this document led to an immediate and utter breach between the parliament of Scotland and the Scottish Church. The presbyterian divines, as we see from the writings of Rutherford and all that school, had a strong dislike and dread of all sectaries, and on this account they were extremely unwilling to be associated in any way with the Independents as led by Cromwell. But now they clearly perceived that for them to join with the Malignants in order to destroy the Sectaries was to choose of two evils the one which was by far the worse. Consequently, the Com-

mission of Assembly, and afterwards the Assembly itself, condemned the action of the Parliament which ratified the *Engagement*. It is easy to ridicule this repudiation of parliamentary procedure by the church courts, or to stigmatise it as an exaggerated Hildebrandism. But to represent the conduct of the Scottish churchmen as ultramontane is to be guilty of a serious misrepresentation of the facts of the case. The Engagers had professed to be the conservators of the principles which the Covenanters had declared to be dearer to them than life, and it was the bounden duty of the church to protest against and expose a compromise proposed in their name, which sacrificed all that they had so earnestly contended for. The Engagers had surrendered religious principle for political ends, and the churchmen rightly refused to give the sanction of religion to the proceedings of men with whom the interests of God's cause was evidently a very secondary consideration. It was a case of politics and politicians intruding into the ecclesiastical sphere rather than of the church seeking to domineer over the state.

The parliamentary party now assumed a defiant attitude toward the church and the stricter Covenanters. The Duke of Hamilton was put at the head of the army, and with 40,000 men, poorly armed, and imperfectly drilled, he ventured to face the well-equipped troops of Cromwell, at Preston, only to suffer a humiliating and disastrous defeat. He was himself taken prisoner by the English, and died upon the scaffold at Westminster in March, 1649. His brother, the Earl of Lanark, associated with him in the leadership of the party, succeeded him in the dukedom, and died from wounds received in battle some two years later. Loudon, who at first acted along with Hamilton and Lanark, when he saw the firm determination of his old Covenanting associates, repented of his fault, and made confession of it before the church, and under Argyll became one of the leaders of the strict and consistent Covenanters.

The ministers of the church, and the Christian people

throughout the country warmly supported Argyll, not only with their sympathy but also with their active help, and a large number of peasants from the south-western counties of Scotland, fired with pious enthusiasm, and inspired by a genuine religious zeal, flocked to the standard of the Covenanting leader, and so by this sudden wave of popularity, Argyll was carried at once to the front, head of the government and commander of the army. Encouraged by the news of the defeat of the Engagers in England, the Covenanters under Argyll advanced upon Edinburgh, and encountered no opposition. The members of the government fled at the approach of the *Whiggamores*, and the new government immediately came to an understanding with Cromwell, and proceeded without delay to deal with those who had in any way become implicated in the affair of the Engagement. The new parliament passed a measure called the *Act of Classes*, which was intended to exclude from office all who had in any degree favoured the policy of the Malignants. This act received its name because of its distinguishing different groups or classes of individuals who, by conduct of a more or less aggravated character, had rendered themselves unworthy of public confidence. Not only were those who had shown themselves hostile to the covenant debarred from holding any place in the civil government or in the army, but ministers who had proved faithless were deposed and deprived of their livings. The putting of offices of command and influence, whether civil or military, into the hands of thoroughly reliable men, was undoubtedly a wise and reasonable policy; but it must be admitted that the immediate effect of this sweeping measure was to tempt and encourage many to make hypocritical professions of attachment to the covenant, who were in spirit and life as far as possible removed from the truth and purity of the Christian faith. The attachment of the government and people of Scotland to Cromwell, and especially that of the ministers of the church, was by no means hearty or very sincere. It was only because the other possible alternative of adherence to the king had become

impossible, that meanwhile, seeing that as yet no third choice had emerged or seemed practical, they made their peace with the great leader of the English parliamentary party. The death of Charles on the scaffold on 30th January, 1649, seemed to those who had the direction of public affairs in Scotland to afford an opportunity of breaking with Cromwell and making another attempt to secure for the covenant an authoritative and national recognition.

The king's execution was not approved in Scotland, not because the covenanters denied the right of a nation to bring their king to trial and death for tyranny and the subversion of the liberties of the people, but because they were determinedly opposed to the anti-monarchical principles of those who had brought about this great catastrophe. Consequently, so soon as the tidings of the tragedy reached Scotland, the leaders both of church and state began at once to take steps in the direction of securing a successor to the throne. Within a few days of the death of the king, his son was proclaimed as Charles the Second. In February, the Scottish Parliament ratified the Confession of Faith, and in the following month it abolished patronage in the church, and called upon the General Assembly to make rules with regard to the appointment and settlement of ministers. In the political movements of the times, the church took an active and prominent part. The covenanters were determined that the king and his government should individually declare their acceptance of the covenant, and undertake to secure the enforcement of its principles and requirements throughout the land. They insisted that the new king should solemnly promise to admit no malignant to office, and that he should regard all who had given their adhesion to the engagement as disqualified. Even before any effectual steps had been taken by the Parliament of Scotland towards entering into a treaty with the young prince, now in exile in Holland, the General Assembly addressed him by letter, urging upon him their views as to his duty in accepting the covenant, and putting away from his presence and counsels those whose prelatial and despotic principles

had already produced so much evil and confusion in the land.

It may be right to notice here that the Church of Scotland had recently lost her most able and her most trustworthy leaders. Alexander Henderson, by far the ablest ecclesiastic since the time of Knox, had died in the autumn of 1646, and George Gillespie, who by special learning and personal qualities was best fitted to take his place, was called away in the end of 1648. Great men were with them still; Rutherford, renowned as a theologian, controversialist, preacher, and subtle ingenious schemers like Patrick Gillespie, but no outstanding statesmanlike divine, who could lead the church temperately and wisely in circumstances of great delicacy, and along ways beset with pitfalls at every turn. Probably it was on account of this absence of any one recognised guide among themselves that the ministers seemed so ready to accept the leadership of a nobleman like the Marquess of Argyll, who became in large measure the representative of the church as well as of the state in all the negotiations for the restoration of the king.

Early in 1650, the parliament sent commissioners to treat with Charles at Breda in Holland, and to invite him to take possession of the Scottish throne on condition of his signing the covenant and undertaking to govern in accordance with its requirements. These conditions were evidently unpalatable to the young prince, and the commissioners could be in no way deceived as to his frivolous and vicious disposition, and his utter disregard of every obligation moral and religious. Meantime, with the duplicity and wickedness of all the later Stewarts, Charles had been listening to counsels of violence, and had been seeking to seize by force upon his ancestral possessions without submitting to any of those conditions which were now being diplomatically pressed upon him. Montrose, who, out of personal pique, had deserted the late king and joined the covenanters, and had now again fallen back to his former place, was already in Scotland with a commission from Charles to raise troops and to conquer the country by force of arms. Various

attempts have been made to represent Montrose as a chivalrous knight whose character and career were singularly pure and noble, but it should be remembered that while associated with the covenanters, he far outdid the most fanatical of that party in the violence which he used in forcing the covenant upon the reluctant inhabitants of Aberdeen, that he personally instigated and arranged for the murder of the English Ambassador at the Hague, that before his crushing defeat at Philiphaugh, he was guilty of many and needless cruelties upon defenceless people. The Scottish Parliament, on discovering the faithlessness of the prince, resolved to recall their commissioners, and had not their communication been detained by an over-zealous member of the commission, who urged Charles, in view of the state of feeling in Scotland, to immediate acceptance of the conditions demanded, the Scottish history, ecclesiastical and civil of thirty or forty years, and that also of England, might have been very different from what it actually was.

An interesting account of the negotiations carried on with Charles is given in the autobiography of John Livingston of Ancrum,* who, along with James Wood and George Hutcheson, and with the Earl of Cassillis and Brodie of Brodie, ruling elders, had been sent along with the Parliamentary representatives by the commission of the church. He had little faith in the commissioners. Lothian was simply the creature of Argyll, and Liberton had given evidence of his desire to have the king on any terms. Of Sir John Smith, who had been in league with James Graham, Livingston says "he was a man of no great ability, and what ability he had I suspected would not be well employed." From the very first Livingston had little hope of any good coming out of these negotiations, and he says that many of the well affected, whose judgment he revered, had great fears of the issue of the treaty. He observed that the prince granted nothing that was not wrung out of him, also that

* *Select Biographies*, edited by Wodrow Society, Vol. I., Edin. 1845, pp. 168-185.

malignants like Lauderdale and Hamilton, were consulted, that some of the prince's demands were allowed for which the commission had no authority and that from the conditions imposed upon him essential particulars were left out. It is very much to the credit of Livingston that when he saw how utterly devoid Charles was of all conscience and truth he opposed as strongly as he could the pressing upon him of covenant obligations which he had no intention of observing and the tempting of him to make solemn protestations of beliefs which he neither entertained nor understood. He was even unwilling to join the ship in which Charles and his company were, feeling as though they were taking the plague of God to Scotland. This same feeling was also very freely expressed by many of the wisest and best ministers of the church. All those, however, churchmen and statesmen, who were under the influence and in the service of Argyll, were determined at all hazards to have the prince crowned with the name at least of a covenanting king. And so even before the vessel in which he sailed had reached the Scottish shores, he signed the covenant, the sudden readiness with which he did so notwithstanding his previous reluctance, rendering his whole conduct more suspicious than ever. He landed at Garmouth, at the mouth of the Spey, on 16th June, 1650.

The English parliamentary party regarded the proceedings of the Scots in recognising the young prince as an occasion of war, and accordingly Cromwell marched with his army into Scotland. Finding Edinburgh strongly defended, he retired to Dunbar, but was unable to make his escape further, for David Leslie had drawn up his forces on high ground, and had secured for them an impregnable position, while he effectually barred the southward march of the English. Much against his will and better judgment, but yielding to the clamour of the more fanatical of the nobles and ministers in his company, who in their impatience declared that longer waiting would be dishonouring to God and would imply want of faith in His help, he surrendered the advantages of his well-chosen entrenchments and de-

scended to the lower ground where the enemy lay encamped. When Cromwell with surprise beheld this movement he cried out exultantly, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands." The covenanting army, large in numbers, but raw and undisciplined, and for the most part poorly equipped, proved utterly unfit to cope with the experienced and well drilled troops of the Commonwealth leader. The Covenanters sustained a crushing defeat, and made a hasty retreat northward toward Stirling, hotly pursued by their conquerors.

Meantime, the conduct of Charles had alienated some of the most ardent supporters of the Covenant. The strictness of those in whose keeping he now was, had become irksome to the frivolous and licentious youth beyond all endurance, so that he sought to make his escape from them by flight, and had to be pursued and taken back. His own personal friends, who were all like-minded with himself, urged upon the rest of the royalist party the necessity for relaxing their rules and practice, but the concessions made only convinced those who were already dissatisfied that it was utterly vain to expect from such a king the realization of their hopes. Some of the worst of the malignants, whose recantation was as evidently formal and insincere as the prince's own protestations, had been allowed to return, and were already influencing the counsels of those interesting themselves in the restoration of the monarchy. It was becoming evident to clear sighted men that the occupancy of the throne by such a faithless prince, ill disposed toward all good measures and all good men, could only be disastrous to the nation and must lead to the overthrow of all true religion. They began to see that in comparison with Charles, Cromwell was not their enemy, but their friend. Patrick Gillespie of Glasgow, brother of George Gillespie, James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, Colonel Strachan, a brave soldier who had defeated Montrose, headed the party which had resolved to break away from the malignants who were dominant among the supporters of the king, and to seek the favour and help of Cromwell and the English commonwealth. The western

army under their control protested against the treaty of Breda, denounced the favour shown to malignants, renounced allegiance to the prince, and refused to take any part in further hostilities against the English. Argyll vigorously opposed this movement, but it was favoured by Johnston of Warriston and other prominent leaders of the Covenanters. The Scottish parliament, however, in the end of 1650, by a majority, resolved to make use of all who were not open and obstinate enemies of the Covenant, and so lost the confidence and sympathy of the more zealous and faithful ministers.

It was during this period of divided counsels and prevailing confusion, that those attached to the person of the prince determined without further delay to have Charles formally proclaimed king of Scotland. On the first of January, 1651, he was crowned at Scone, the Marquess of Argyll placing the crown upon his head and the Earl of Crawford putting the sceptre into his hand, after a sermon had been preached by Robert Douglas and the coronation oath sworn to by which the prince bound himself to maintain the principles of the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, undertaking to support and establish the Presbyterian government, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, as agreed on by the Assembly and Parliament, promising to observe these in his own practice and family, and never to do anything in opposition to them. The churchmen who took part in this ceremonial sought to make their position clear by maintaining that they repudiated on the one hand the error of those who had embraced anti-monarchical principles, and on the other hand that of those who, like the Engagers, surrendered the interests of Christ's kingdom to a godless zeal for the king.

As might have been expected, the proceedings only tended to the intensifying of the mutual suspicion and dislike between the two parties in the church. The commission of Assembly in December, 1650, had signed the resolutions of parliament in regard to the admission of those who had been

malignants, and in spite of vigorous protests from several of the presbyteries, the commission maintained its position, deposed Colonel Strachan and reponed General Middleton. In the Assembly of July, 1651, held first in St. Andrews, and afterward in Dundee, several leading ministers, Rutherford, Gillespie, Guthrie, Cant and Menzies, protested against the lawfulness of the Assembly; but Guthrie and Gillespie were deposed and the commission's proceedings approved. The result was a serious breach among the ministers and members of the church. Those who supported the resolutions of the parliament and commission were called *Resolutioners* and those who opposed the resolutions were called *Protesters*. The final and crushing defeat of Charles at Worcester in September, and his subsequent flight to the Continent, followed as it was by the complete subjection of Scotland under the English parliamentary army, made no change in the way of bringing those two parties to a better mutual understanding. The General Assembly met in July, 1652, with David Dickson as moderator, but sixty-five ministers, including Rutherford, Gillespie, and Cant, and a large number of elders, including Johnston of Warriston, protested against its meeting as unlawful and unfree, and sought the protection of the Commonwealth government, though not themselves professed republicans, but only feeling compelled as Christian men who honour truth and decency to refuse to promote the worthless, false, and dis-solute Charles to the throne.

The meeting of the Assembly of 1653 was violently broken in upon by Colonel Cotterel, an officer of Cromwell, and dispersed by force before the roll was called. But while in the following year no General Assembly was allowed to sit, synods, presbyteries, and sessions continued their meetings and business as usual. This expulsion of the members of Assembly, who were all *Resolutioners*, and the refusal to allow them to meet again as an Assembly, prevented them from going to extremities against the *Protesters*, and in other ways favoured that party. Their influence through-

out the church must also have been greatly extended through the appointment of Patrick Gillespie to the principalship of Glasgow University, and through the teaching of Samuel Rutherford, the professor of theology in St. Andrews. And backed as they were by the authority of Cromwell and his government, the Protesters, though in the minority, were the dominant party in the church, and Baillie and others among the Resolutioners complain that sometimes efficient and useful ministers were deprived of their charges for no other reason than their belonging to the opposite party, and their places filled by less useful and less capable men. Yet it must be admitted that by far the strongest and best men of the time belonged to the party of the Protesters. Almost all the ablest writers among the Scottish divines were on that side. The personal sympathies of the peace-makers, Blair and Durham, were evidently with men like Rutherford and Guthrie. The Protesters formed the party of high, unflinching devotion to principle; the Resolutioners the party of expediency, for the most part serving and seeking at all hazards to be on good terms with the court. David Dickson and Robert Baillie were perhaps the best of the Resolutioners, and both of these, before they passed away, taught by painful experience, confessed that the Protesters had understood the men they had to deal with better than they. It would have been better for the church and for the state if all the good and religious men of Scotland had stood together on the foundation of the Protesters' principles. The opposition between the two parties led to exaggerations on both sides—the Protesters carried their protest to a needless extreme, and the Resolutioners gave way more and more to unworthy and unprincipled compromises. It was in the bosom of the Resolutioners that James Sharp grew up, and it was while doing their business and furthering their secret designs that he began the practice of that crooked diplomacy which brought such disaster not only on himself, but also on the whole church and nation.

In estimating the service or disservice rendered to the

country by the Protesters, it is well to remember how they cultivated the art of preaching, so that from their ranks sprang almost all the great popular preachers of the age. Hugh Binning appears to have been the most accomplished orator of his time in Scotland, not surpassed in eloquence even by the greatest of the English preachers, his matter profound, his diction clear and elegant. Durham, who was himself not only a man of a beautiful, peace-loving spirit, but also as a preacher held in high esteem, says of Binning that there was no speaking after him, so great was the impression produced by all his discourses. He, as well as Andrew Gray, another youthful preacher in Glasgow of the same age and party, is specially deserving of mention for the new departure which he made in discarding the scholastic method of endless divisions and minute distinctions in favour of the freer method of reflection and declamation, which Baillie describes depreciatingly as a high romancing and unscriptural style. The fervency of the preaching of the leading men among the Protesters, which more or less characterized the work of all the members of that party, was shown conspicuously on the occasion of the dispensation of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It was this party which first took advantage of communion seasons for great gatherings of the people to hear sermons before and after the administration of the ordinance. However great the abuses may have been which crept in as years went on, so as to make such gatherings fit subjects for the scourge of the satirist's tongue, it cannot be denied that in those days of trouble and confusion, those great preachers at communion gatherings did more than any other agency to keep alive the flame of genuine religion among the people, and to prevent the universal spread of cold indifference which the godlessness of ambitious and worldly men in church and state so strongly fostered. The Protesters were the evangelicals of their age, and while among the Resolutioners there were some evangelically minded men, their policy, as a whole, was in the direction of religious moderation.

Notwithstanding the divisions among the churchmen, it must be remembered that the sympathies even of the keenest of the Protesters were still with the monarchy, if only a king could be found who would honestly and heartily support the principles of the Covenant. Many of the ministers continued to preach against Cromwell as a usurper, and all of them were strongly opposed to the ecclesiastical lawlessness of the sectaries in the Commonwealth army, who insisted on preaching when they felt called to do so, and often engaged in disputations with the regular preachers on points of doctrine and church government. When Patrick Gillespie publicly prayed for the Protector, he stood almost, if not altogether, alone among the members of his party. The political ascendancy of Cromwell in Scotland, however, after the battle of Worcester, was practically complete, and General Monk was absolutely successful in suppressing every royalist movement throughout the whole extent of the land. After the violent dismissal of the Assembly in 1653, the history of Scotland, civil and ecclesiastical, for some five or six years is comparatively uneventful. The Commonwealth rule in Scotland was, upon the whole, peaceable and fair, and in spite of the continuance of considerable rancour and bitterness between the parties within the church, the work of pacification was carried on with commendable zeal and encouraging success. The English soldiers were, for the most part, genuine and true-hearted men, and their influence among the people was in the interests of religion and morality. The period of peace, however, was too short for the fusion of parties and for the overcoming of religious prejudices and the strength of ancestral traditions. Before party differences had been finally laid at rest, the great republican leader died on 3rd September, 1658, and the question of the restoration of the prince was once again awakened to disturb the peace of church and state, and to revive in an intensified form all the bitter disputes by which churchmen and statesmen had been before so disastrously divided.

Naturally the turn that events were now taking in England

brought the party of the Resolutioners in the Scottish church anew into prominence. They were themselves forward to play as notable a part as possible in the movement in favour of the restoration of the prince, and sought to make it appear that they only were aggressive and ardent in their attachment to the royalist cause. They did not indeed forget the obligation under which they lay to put the claims and requirements of the Covenant in the forefront of their negotiations, but they sent up as their commissioner one on whom they could rely as certain not to endanger the success of their political schemes by any excess of loyalty to the spiritual rights and ideals of the church. At a meeting of ministers held in Edinburgh on 6th February, 1660, James Sharp, minister of Crail, was sent up to London under the care and patronage of General Monk, with instructions to endeavour to secure to the church her privileges, to testify against the late sinful toleration, obtain for ministers the benefit of the abolition of patronage, and generally to advance the interests of the presbyterian church of Scotland in the counsels of the government in view of any settlement that might be effected.

James Sharp was born in May, 1618, at Banff, where his father was sheriff-clerk. He studied at King's College, Aberdeen, where he had the advantage of the teaching of some of the famous Aberdeen doctors. He does not seem to have been in any respect a distinguished student, and he never, throughout his whole career, gained any reputation either as a scholar or as a writer. He was a man of very ordinary abilities, but possessed of a certain shrewdness in managing business and in the contriving and executing of intrigues. In 1640 he was appointed one of the regents in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, where he taught philosophy, and in 1648 he became minister of Crail. Going up to London with General Monk in 1660, he kept up a regular correspondence with Robert Douglas, the recognised leader of the party of the Resolutioners, by whom he had been sent. This interesting collection of letters has been printed by Wodrow in the introduction to his great work on *The*

Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution. In his early letters he informs Douglas that the English presbyterians were anxious for the recognition of the Westminster Confession, but that the supporters of the hierarchy were also busy seeking to promote their own views, and that they already had such a measure of encouragement that they were entertaining the hope that the king would consent to the establishment of episcopacy in England. In reply Douglas dwelt upon the seriousness of the loss that would come to Scotland from the establishment of episcopacy in England, even in a modified form, and maintained that the Scottish church and people, though zealous for the king, could consent to his restoration only on the ground of his acceptance of the terms of the covenant. The honest covenanter, however, had to confess that in Scotland there had grown up a race that knew little about the significance of the covenant and cared less. "There are three parties here," he says, "who have all their own fears in this great crisis: the Protesters fear that the king come in; those above mentioned that if he come in upon covenant terms they be disappointed; and those who love religion and the liberty of the nation, that if he come not in upon the terms of the league and covenant, his coming in will be disadvantageous to religion and the liberty of the three nations." In a subsequent letter Douglas, while deploring the prospect of England repudiating her covenant obligations and breaking away from the accepted basis of uniformity in worship by agreeing to the introduction of episcopacy, maintained that they must not in Scotland endeavour after uniformity by following the English and their acceptance of the episcopal form of government, and instructed Sharp, on behalf of the Scottish Church, that when he met the prince at Breda he should insist upon having the presbyterian government of the Church of Scotland established as of old without alteration or modification. Writing from Breda toward the end of May, the delegate of the Scottish presbyterians wrote their leader assuring him that he had laid before his Majesty the letters which he had

written him, that he had also urged upon him the desirability of restoring to the Scottish nation its civil independence and preserving to the church that form of government to which the people had all along been attached, and that he had received an encouraging and gracious answer from the king. Sharp's letters to Douglas from this time onward are full of protestations of his anxiety lest any countenance should be given to episcopacy. He declared over and over again that he had been using his utmost endeavour in the interest of the cause for which he was sent up, and at last in the beginning of June he complains of the over-bearing carriage of the episcopalians. He urges that he should be recalled after his hard toil; he would retire home and look to God, from whom our hope alone can come." "I am not of their mind," he says, "who would not have you preach for presbyterian government, holding up the covenant, and keeping out prelacy from Scotland, but I am still of the opinion that there is no necessity nor advantage to meddle with the settlement, whether civil or ecclesiastic, in England." He returned to Scotland in August, bearing with him a letter from Charles to Douglas, in which the king assured the covenanter of his determination to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland.

While making such profession of attachment to the cause of presbytery and retaining his position as the accredited representative of the presbyterian church, there is every reason to suppose that Sharp had already betrayed the interests which he had solemnly promised to further, and had been using his opportunities for his own advancement by means of the ruin of those who had trusted him. Mr. Douglas had placed implicit confidence in him, had no more suspicion of him in regard to prelacy than he had of himself, no more than the other disciples had of Judas. But he declares that afterward he had cause to believe that in Holland and afterwards in London he was secretly plotting against the presbyterians, that he kept the king in ignorance of the true state of feeling in Scotland, and assured him that, with

a firm administration, he might do what he pleased both in the civil and in the ecclesiastical government.

Charles II. entered London in triumph on 29th May, 1660, and three weeks later the Restoration was celebrated in Edinburgh by a day of thanksgiving, with sermons from the pulpits and with drinking and fireworks throughout the city. So far as England was concerned the king was received without conditions or pledges of any kind, and Scotland had not long to wait to find, that whatever promises she had received as to the protection and preservation of civil and religious liberty were vain and unmeaning words.

Argyll lost no time in making his way to London, and, along with other Scottish nobles, he hastened to the court to pay homage to the new king. He had gone up quite unsuspectingly, but immediately on his presenting himself at Whitehall, to seek an interview with his sovereign, he was seized and committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Some of his friends in Scotland, notably Robert Douglas, who had so much to do with the negotiations which led to Charles' return, sought to dissuade him from venturing into the king's presence, but it is understood that he had been invited to go, and that he trusted the royal word and went up without fear or misgiving. The prominent part, however, which he had so long taken in state affairs brought him many enemies, and though he had indeed placed the crown on the head of Charles in 1651, it would be easy for those who bore no goodwill to the marquess to convince the king that he was mainly responsible for all the movements of the Covenanting party in Scotland which were, or seemed to be, hostile to himself and to the malignant party with which he was associated. In the king's own recollection of his residence in Scotland, Argyll would be associated with all those restrictive measures of the Covenanters which had proved so irksome and intolerable to him then, and which were no more palatable to him in his maturer age than they were some ten years before. There was evidently some element of personal animosity, some rankling feeling of private hate, which occasioned the hasty and peremptory committal

to prison of a nobleman who had come without delay to give a loyal welcome to his king. It is also said that Middleton and other needy courtiers, thinking that the estates of the condemned nobleman would be confiscated and might fall into their hands, sought to inflame the passions of the king against his loyal subject, and gave currency at court to false reports as to the honesty and trustworthiness of Argyll's professions. Anyhow, he was not allowed as much as to see the king, but was at once committed to close and rigorous confinement. After remaining in prison in the Tower for about five months, he was sent in a man-of-war to Scotland, and reached Edinburgh on the 21st of December, 1660. In order to induce the Scottish parliament to deal severely with him, charges were brought against the prisoner of cruel and barbarous conduct which certain neighbours of his in the West had been induced to make, and on the 13th of September the marquess was brought before parliament, and a detailed accusation, charging him with several acts of treason against the king's majesty, were read by Sir John Fletcher, the king's advocate. He was refused every privilege in pleading which any prisoner so situated might rightfully and legally claim. The indictment consisted of fourteen counts, in which a distorted recital was given of the various exploits in which he had engaged since 1638, and especially of alleged dealings with Cromwell and the Commonwealth government. It was in vain that Argyll gave satisfactory answers to all the charges. Most of the judges had beforehand decided upon their judgment. Sharp and others had been sent up to London to nullify any influence that might be used in favour of the presbyterian and covenanting nobleman, and messages from day to day came from the court urging parliament to hasten proceedings and issue the sentence as soon as possible. Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, who had gained his rank and reputation as a general under the republican government, and who had been Cromwell's trusted representative and commander in Scotland at the time when those charges of favouring the Commonwealth government were brought against Argyll, had the effrontery

to hand over to the prosecution private letters which he had received from Argyll during that period. To use the words of Charles James Fox* : "In the trial of Argyll he produced letters of friendship and confidence to take away the life of a nobleman, the zeal and cordiality of whose co-operation with him, proved by such documents, was the chief ground of his execution; thus gratuitously surpassing in infamy those miserable wretches, who, to save their own lives, are sometimes persuaded to impeach, and swear away the lives of their accomplices." Some of the most zealous opponents of Argyll, such as Glencairn and Rothes, had been before his comrades in council and field in defence of the Covenant, but now they sought to ingratiate themselves with the king and the new government by obsequious compliance with what they found to be the royal pleasure. Lauderdale, another old associate of the covenanting nobleman, sought to interfere on his behalf, but was soon persuaded into silence by Middleton and Rothes. On Saturday, the 25th of May, 1661, Argyll was summoned to the bar of parliament to receive sentence. He asked that he might be allowed ten days between the pronouncing of the sentence and its execution, in order that he might acquaint the king. But this was refused, and he was ordered to receive the parliament's sentence kneeling. The sentence then pronounced ran thus:—That he was found guilty of high treason and adjudged to be execute to death as a traitor, his head to be severed from his body at the cross of Edinburgh upon Monday, the 27th instant, and affixed in the same place where the Marquess of Montrose's head was formerly, and his arms torn before the parliament at the cross. After this sentence had been pronounced he said: "I had the honour to set the crown upon the king's head, and now he hastens me to a better crown than his own." He then addressed the Commissioner and parliament: "You have the indemnity of an earthly king among your hands, and have denied me a share

* *History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II.* London, 1808, p. 20.

in that, but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of kings, and shortly you must be before His tribunal, I pray you He mete not out such measure to you as you have done to me, when you are called to account for your doings, and this among the rest." His lady stayed with him and tenderly ministered to him till Sabbath night. Of the ministers, his intimate friends Robert Douglas, George Hutcheson, and David Dickson were with him to the end. His conduct and speech during all this time were those of a very brave, noble and true-hearted Christian man. As he was leaving the prison for the scaffold he said: "I could die like a Roman, but choose rather to die as a Christian." James Guthrie of Stirling, whom he called to him and tenderly embraced as he was passing out, said: "My lord, God has been with you, God is with you, and God will be with you; and such is my respect for your lordship that if I were not under the sentence of death myself, I could cheerfully die for your lordship." He spoke from the scaffold for about half an hour, giving a calm, dignified, well ordered address, concluding with these noble, generous, Christian words: "I desire not that the Lord should judge any man, nor do I judge any but myself; I wish that as the Lord hath pardoned me so may He pardon them for this and other things, and that what they have done to me may never meet them in their accounts. I have no more to say but beg the Lord, that since I go away He may bless them that stay behind. As he approached the Maiden, Mr. Hutcheson said: "My lord, hold now your grip sicker." "Mr. Hutcheson," he answered, "you know what I said to you in the chamber, I am not afraid to be surprised with fear." When the physician touched his pulse he found that it was beating at the usual rate, calm and strong.

The Marquess of Argyll must undoubtedly be regarded as a martyr to Covenanting principles. The charges against him in regard to political offences were utterly unreal, or in any case all that he was accused of was covered by the indemnity under which his judges themselves were finding shelter. The heroism of his last hours did much to cheer

and strengthen his compatriots in the dark days that followed.

The Protesters and the Resolutioners were now anxious to come to a good understanding with one another. There was no longer any reason why they should maintain separation, seeing that the occasion of the division had long since disappeared. This, however, did not suit the purposes of Sharp, who perceived that if this schism were healed the combined force of the presbyterian party would seriously interfere with the success of his plans for the overthrow of presbyterianism in Scotland. Accordingly he represented to the leaders of the Resolutioners the keenness of the king's opposition to the Protesters, and assured them, speaking as one of themselves, that they would become involved in quite needless odium, and make their case all the more difficult and dangerous by any associations with such obnoxious persons. Hence Douglas and other leaders of the party of the Resolutioners refused to have anything to do with James Guthrie and others known to belong to the Protesters. In these circumstances, seeing that there was neither Assembly nor Commission of Assembly and that the synods did not meet until October, it was absolutely necessary that the Protesters should meet and prepare a statement by which they might make their sentiments and attitude known to the king. Accordingly, on the 23rd of August, 1660, James Guthrie and nine other ministers with two ruling elders, all belonging to the Protester party, met in a private house in Edinburgh and drew up an address to the king, congratulating him on his return, assuring him of their loyalty and reminding him of his Covenant engagement. By order of the Chancellor and parliament, the house where they met was entered, all the papers found were seized, and before the day closed all who were present at the meeting, with the exception of one of the elders who escaped, were committed to prison.

It may be convenient at this point to report the passing of a measure in the first Scottish Parliament of Charles II. in January, 1661, usually called the Act Recissory, which

rescinded all Acts of Parliament, Conventions of Estates, and other deeds contrary to the doctrine of the sovereign supreme authority to make leagues, etc., and dissolving all obligations under which any may have entered by Covenant or Treaty to endeavour by arms a reformation of religion in the kingdom of England. Another act of a similar kind rescinded and annulled the pretended parliaments kept in the years 1640 and 1641, and from 1644 to 1648. These measures and another that had been passed by the Committee of Estates in the preceding August in reference to what was called unlawful meetings and seditious papers, were necessary in order that any tolerable pretext might be afforded to judges in the new courts and to the public prosecutor for dealing with those who might have sheltered themselves behind Acts of Parliament.

Mr. James Guthrie, who was apprehended in Edinburgh as a Protester, was a son of the Laird of Guthrie in Forfarshire, reared an episcopalian and converted to presbyterianism at St. Andrews, where he taught philosophy, under the influence of Rutherford. In 1638 he was settled as a presbyterian minister at Lauder, and in 1649, after having served for some time with the king at Newcastle, he was appointed minister of Stirling. From the very beginning of the divisions in the church he was a prominent and determined member and leader of the party of the Protesters. In 1650, he had publicly announced the excommunication of Middleton, who was now the all powerful royal commissioner. Most probably on this account Middleton entertained a feeling of bitter hostility toward the undaunted minister. It seemed now to be forgotten that Guthrie in public debate had maintained the cause of the king in opposition to Hugh Peters, Cromwell's chaplain. In the beginning of 1661, Guthrie was arraigned before parliament charged with writing and publishing a book entitled *The Causes of God's Wrath upon the Nation*. He made a singularly able defence, so that even the most distinguished advocates were astonished at his minute and thorough knowledge of Scots law. Wodrow says that in his estimation nothing in our modern

martyrologies approached so nearly the apologies of the primitive martyrs and confessors as do the able defences and eloquent pleadings of James Guthrie. As in the case of Argyll, so also in his case, the judges had been from the first resolved to condemn him. According, on the 28th of May, 1661, he was sentenced to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh on Saturday, the 1st of June, his head to be cut off and affixed to the Nether Bow, and his estate to be confiscate and his arms torn. Bishop Burnet, who was present at his execution, says that he showed no fear, but spoke upon the ladder for an hour with the composedness of one who was delivering a sermon, justifying all that he had done and exhorting all the people to adhere to the covenants, which would yet be the means of the reviving of Scotland. Guthrie was a man of great ability and many accomplishments, and though most resolute in his adherence to principle, was of a singularly gentle and peace-loving disposition.

As might be expected from the temper of the parliament, all the true-hearted presbyterian ministers of the party of the Resolutioners fared little better than the Protesters. Robert Douglas and James Wood, preaching before parliament, spoke out their mind in such a way that they were not so employed again. There was now a widespread fear throughout the church that a violent change in the government of the church was imminent, and that some of the ministers were prepared to take advantage of the change in order to secure their own personal advancement. Several of the synods met and resolved to censure by deposition any minister who should comply with prelacy; but their meetings were generally interrupted by noblemen or magistrates bearing the authority of the commissioner. The Synod of Lothian when making this proposal, was under threat of violence from the commissioners, most reluctantly compelled to suspend all the Protesters belonging to it, comprising some of its very best and most highly-respected members. In the Synod of Ross, Mr. Hog of Kiltearn was asked whether he regarded the Protest as just and reasonable, and on his refusal to disown it, he was deposed from the ministry.

Everywhere throughout the country faithful ministers were suspended, if not deposed. Those who were James Guthrie's associates at the Edinburgh meeting were detained in prison, some for four, some for seven months, when some were banished and others liberated on the payment of heavy fines.

Of the party of Protesters, Patrick Gillespie was even more forward and conspicuous in his public actings than James Guthrie, and had certainly gone far beyond any of the ministers in his professions of adherence and attachment to Cromwell and the Commonwealth Government. Comparing him with Guthrie, Sir George Mackenzie * says that he "was guilty of the same and greater crimes, having courted the Protector, whom Guthrie really hated; nor had his Majesty so great aversion for any minister as for him, because he behaved himself so insolently in his own presence and toward his own person; yet upon a humble submission he was brought off by the Lord Sinclair; yet his Majesty retained so far his former resentments that he would never allow him to be brought into the ministry, notwithstanding of many intercessions." He was minister of Glasgow, and by Cromwell was made principal of Glasgow University. After his trial he was deprived of the principalship, which was given to Robert Baillie. His submission, which saved his life, gave great pain to those who had been associated with him, and had looked upon him as a brave and bold witness-bearer for the truth. "Hath he suffered so much in vain," said James Guthrie, "if it be yet in vain." He was an accomplished scholar and an able theologian, as is shown by his published work on *The Covenants of Grace and Redemption*.

Meanwhile, the veteran Samuel Rutherford of St. Andrews was not likely to be overlooked. During the sitting of the Westminster Assembly he had published several works in ecclesiastical and polemical theology:—*A Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Paul's Presbytery in*

* *History of the Affairs of Scotland from 1660 to 1677*, p. 51.

Scotland ; The Due Right of Presbyteries, or a Peaceable Plea for the Government of the Church of Scotland ; The Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication ; A Free Disputation against pretended Liberty of Conscience ; but the work which gave most offence to the king and those around him was *Lex Rex or The Law and the Prince, A Dispute for the Just Prerogative of King and People*, published in 1644. He was, no doubt, by far the ablest man of the age in the Scottish church. "Such as knew him best," says Wodrow, "were in a strait whether to admire him most for his sublime genius in the school, and peculiar exactness in matters of dispute and controversy, or his familiar condescensions in the pulpit, where he was one of the most moving and affectionate preachers in his time, or perhaps in any age of the church." But the hand of death was clearly upon him before the summons of the court had reached him, and all that his enemies could do was to burn *Lex Rex* in St. Andrews and Edinburgh.

James Sharp was already making himself notorious, and was generally suspected of instigating the Commissioner to the disturbing of synod meetings and the persecution of faithful ministers. He was also now secretly urging upon the king and his advisers the statement that the best of the old presbyterian ministers were not against prelacy, or at least a modified episcopacy. He had already obtained the divinity professorship at St. Andrews, of which Mr. James Wood had been deprived. And now he sought to win over some of the more respectable members of the party of the Resolutioners. He visited Robert Douglas in his own house, and, after discussing on other things, he mentioned that it was the resolution of the king to introduce bishops into the Church of Scotland, and that on account of his respect for him, Mr. Douglas, it was his Majesty's wish that he should be archbishop of St. Andrews. Douglas at once said that he would have nothing to do with it. After vainly urging him, Sharp rose to go. At the door before parting, Douglas said, "James, I see you will engage. I perceive

you are clear, you will be bishop of St. Andrews. Take it and the curse of God with it."

When the Marquess of Argyll was seized in London and committed to the Tower, warrants were sent down to Scotland for the apprehension of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston and two other gentlemen. Warriston escaped to the Continent. A proclamation of outlawry was at once issued, offering a reward of 5000 merks for his apprehension, and forbidding all to render him any shelter or help. He had been, as we have seen, a prominent Protester, and was clerk of the General Assembly of 1638. In February, 1661, the indictment against him was read in parliament. He was charged, among other offences, with active opposition to the Engagement, raising forces against the Duke of Hamilton, having dealings with Cromwell, assisting in the murder of Montrose, consenting to the "Western Remonstrance" and "The Causes of God's Wrath," and, finally, with sitting in parliament and holding office under the Usurper. Meantime, the object of all this hateful spite was wandering about in Holland and Germany, staying for the most part in Hamburg. Having fallen sick, he was attended by a certain Dr. Bates, one of Charles's physicians, who is supposed to have been bribed to give something that would either kill him or deprive him of his reason. He received as physic some deleterious drug and had sixty ounces of blood taken from him. He was, in consequence, brought to the gates of death, and when at last he was able to move about it was found that his memory was utterly gone, and that both physically and mentally, he was a complete wreck. Having gone to France in the end of 1662, the news came to England that he was there, and an informer or detective, Alexander Murray, was sent over to seek him out. After considerable search, he was found in Rouen, and, after some hesitation, the magistrates were prevailed upon to deliver him up. Reaching London in January, 1663, he was at once committed to the Tower, and in the beginning of June he was sent down to Edinburgh, where he was kept in the Tolbooth. On the 8th of July he was brought be-

fore the Parliament. Warriston had been a man of subtle intellect and of singular dialectic skill, but now he could not utter a series of connected sentences. Though some basely mocked and seemed to enjoy the sad decay of a great man, the general sentiment seems to have been one of pity. At first a majority voted for delay of his execution, but Lauderdale interfered with a threatening speech, and so the sentence was pronounced that he should be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 22nd of July, that thereafter his head should be cut off and put up on the Nether Bow. Weak as he was, he was able constantly to affirm his assurance of his eternal well-being. "I dare never question my salvation," he said, "I have so often seen God's face in the house of prayer."

In the summer of 1661 Sharp returned from London, where he and two others had been carrying on negotiations for the establishment of episcopacy in Scotland. He was still wearing the mask of a presbyterian minister. But the Commissioner and Chancellor were eager for the change as gratifying to the king, while Sharp had secretly been working in the same direction harder than any of them. In September, 1661, the Chancellor read to the Privy Council a letter from the King. Charles acknowledged that he had promised to maintain the government of the Church of Scotland as established by law, but seeing that since then parliament had rescinded all acts of pretended parliaments since the troubles began, he, after mature reflection, resolved to restore the government of the church as it existed before 1638, under his grandfather and father. By this despicable equivocation, more contemptible than downright lying, the promise to establish presbyterianism was converted into a promise to restore and establish episcopacy. Cunningham well says: "The whole transaction gives a full revelation of the unprincipled character of the man."

In December, Sharp, now that this announcement had come from the king, threw off the mask, and proceeded to London with three other ministers like-minded with himself, that they might receive consecration from the English

bishops. Of the old bishops who held sway before 1638 none survived but Sydserf, who had been bishop of Galloway, and was now a very old man. The three who went up to London with Sharp were Fairfoul, Leighton, and Hamilton. Andrew Fairfoul had been presbyterian minister first at Leith, and afterwards at Duns, a man apparently of some ability, but light and frivolous, described as a "pleasant, facetious man, insincere and crafty, his life scarce free from scandal and eminent in nothing that belonged to his own functions." * Burnet quotes Sharp as lamenting that within a month of his consecration Fairfoul's faculties failed, so that he was utterly useless to his party. James Hamilton, brother of Lord Belhaven, was presbyterian minister at Cambusnethan, of very ordinary gifts, but cunning and time serving. He made no considerable figure in his future career. Robert Leighton, son of Dr. Alexander Leighton, who had suffered terrible tortures, indignities and loss under Laud, was the only one of the four of whom even the most partial in favour of the bishops can say that his talents and learning were considerable and his character that of a sincere and high principled Christian man. These four Scottish ministers presented themselves for episcopal ordination in order that they might reconstruct a hierarchy for Scotland. They had already been nominated for particular sees, Sharp and Fairfoul to the archiepiscopal sees of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and Hamilton and Leighton to the bishoprics of Galloway and Dunblane, Sydserf having been transferred to the diocese of Orkney. Fairfoul and Hamilton had been ordained by the old Scottish bishops during the period of episcopal ascendancy in Scotland, but Sharp and Leighton had received only presbyterian ordination. Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London, insisted that those who had not been episcopally ordained should submit to ordination to deacon's and presbyter's orders before receiving consecration. Leighton took the matter lightly. He was thoroughly satisfied as to the validity of his previous ordination, but he regarded

* Burnet, *History of His Own Times*. Vol. I., p. 192.

reordination in the episcopal church as nothing more than a conforming to the rules of that church. Sharp said that such submission involved the admission of the invalidity of his orders, and scrupled at making this surrender. He appealed to the precedent in the case of Archbishop Spottiswoode in 1610, whose presbyterian orders had been recognised. The English bishop, however, regarded the case cited as an irregularity which could not be made a precedent. When it was evident that no concession would be made, Sharp yielded, giving occasion to the sarcastic remark of Bishop Sheldon that it was the Scots' fashion to scruple at everything and to swallow anything. Sharp and Leighton were privately ordained deacons and presbyters, and thereafter on the same day the four designate bishops were solemnly consecrated by four English bishops according to the ritual of the English church. After spending some months in London, the new bishops returned to Scotland. Leighton, in accordance with his retiring habits and modest disposition, entered Scotland by himself unattended and unrecognised. The other three were publicly received as they approached Edinburgh, and were escorted to the capital with great pomp and ceremony.

The first duty devolving upon the new Scottish bishops was the consecrating of those ministers who had been nominated to the other Scottish dioceses. It is said that Sharp was authorized to offer the bishopric of Edinburgh to Robert Douglas, and that he had the effrontery to make this offer to a man who had so vigorously refused to have anything to do with that higher dignity which Sharp had now won to himself. As might have been expected, it was declined with indignation by the incorruptible and staunch old presbyterian. It was then offered to and accepted by George Wishart, at that time episcopal minister of Newcastle. Before this he had been a minister in St. Andrews, but was deposed in 1639 for refusing to take the Covenant. He had associated himself with Montrose, and on his overthrow he had withdrawn to the continent. Wodrow says that he could not refrain from profane swearing even in the streets of Edinburgh, that

he was a known drunkard, and had published poems that were scandalously indelicate. He is remembered only as the historian of the wars of Montrose. The other sees were filled by men of no repute, so that the catalogue of their names would be of no interest to anyone. They had all been members of the party of the Resolutioners, and all of them evidently owed their promotion to a reputation for ready submission to authority and for the absence of any great scrupulousness in regard to principle. The most enthusiastic patron of episcopacy and defender of its introduction into Scotland at the Restoration would not venture to say that in the whole list of these first bishops there was one really great man; and of the whole band, with the solitary exception of Leighton, there is not one whom any ordinarily fair historian would ever think of characterizing as saintly.

In preparation for the rule of the new prelates a letter was sent by the king to the Scottish council at the beginning of 1662 prohibiting all ecclesiastical meetings in synods, presbyteries and sessions until these be authorised by the bishops. In the former episcopacy under James VI. the presbyteries continued to meet, though under the presidency of constant moderators, but now it was left wholly to the discretion and will of the bishops whether they should be called and constituted or not. When matters reached this pitch, and it was seen that presbytery was utterly overthrown, Douglas, Dickson, Wood and all the best of the Resolutioners acknowledged that they had been blind and that the Protesters had had their eyes open and had been much truer prophets than they.

Douglas and Hutcheson, two of the most respected ministers of Edinburgh, and prominent members of the party of the Resolutioners, on refusing to recognise the authority of the bishops, were by the parliament of 1662 deprived of their office and forbidden to officiate as ministers. The state of matters in the West of Scotland was particularly serious. There a large number of the old presbyterian ministers were Protesters, and most of them, as zealous and apostolic men, had won the affection and confidence of their people.

Middleton, on the invitation of the Archbishop of Glasgow, had gone to the western capital, accompanied by the members of the council. He issued a proclamation on the 1st of October, 1662, forbidding all ministers, who had not applied to the bishops for presentation, to preach or exercise any ministerial function, and requiring them to remove themselves and their families from their parishes by the 1st of November, and not to reside within the bounds of their presbyteries. But instead of securing submission, as the commission had expected, this proclamation found the Protesters ready to acquiesce in the sentence, promptly ceasing from all duties, while steadfastly refusing any compliance with the episcopally constituted church. Sharp, thinking that such peremptory procedure had driven some into opposition whose submission might have in time been secured by more patient and wily tactics, induced the council to issue an indulgence dated 23rd December, which allowed ministers meanwhile to discharge their duties and to make application for presentation and collation up to the 1st of February following. Many took advantage of the indulgence and resumed their work in their several parishes. But when the day arrived which ended the privileges allowed by the Act a large number, representing almost all the Protesters and the most distinguished and most highly respected of the Resolutioners, refused to submit to the conditions imposed, and either resigned or were ejected from their parishes. The number of ministers deprived by means of these measures has been variously stated, but may be fairly estimated at from three hundred and fifty to four hundred. Their places were filled by young unqualified men, most of them illiterate, and many of them of low breeding and indifferent character. Succeeding as they did for the most part men of great capacity and undoubted piety, men who had endeared themselves to their people by their faithful ministry and by their profound scriptural teaching, it is not to be wondered at that the *Curates*, as they were called, were commonly treated with at least neglect and contempt.

Robert Baillie, to whom reference in another connection

has already been made, died in the end of August, 1662. He was one of the ablest and wisest of the Resolutioners, and had received the principalship of Glasgow University when Patrick Gillespie, the Protester, had been displaced. His elevation brought him no satisfaction or comfort. He died broken-hearted when he beheld the overthrow of the presbyterian church and the persecution of good men with whom he had enjoyed long and happy fellowship. Baillie, the son of a respectable merchant, was born in the Saltmarket of Glasgow on the 30th of April, 1602. He studied at Glasgow University arts and theology under Robert Boyd and John Cameron, and in 1625 he was appointed one of the regents. Towards the close of 1631 he was inducted minister of Kilwinning, having shortly before this received orders from James Law, archbishop of Glasgow. Though not originally opposed to a moderate episcopacy, he revolted against the imposition of the new book of canons and the liturgy, and in the great reforming Assembly of 1638, of which he was a member, he took a decided though moderate position. In June, 1642, he was appointed colleague of David Dickson as divinity professor of Glasgow University, and in his chair he treated of controversial theology, the oriental languages and chronology in a course extending over four years. Having been appointed one of the commissioners of the Church of Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, Baillie, along with Rutherford, was received and welcomed by the divines on the 20th of November, 1643. The fullest and most entertaining account of this great Assembly is that given in Baillie's *Letters and Journals*. He remained in London till January, 1647, when he returned to Edinburgh and presented to the Commission of Assembly the Confession of Faith and the new metrical version of the psalms. Baillie supported the Engagers, and was a member of the first commission which visited Prince Charles at Breda in 1649. Naturally, Baillie was much opposed to Gillespie's appointment as principal, and his position under such a head would not be a pleasant one, and for three years, during the supremacy of Cromwell, Baillie ceased to attend the meet-

ings of the college or of the church judicatories. He hailed the Restoration, believed the promises of Charles, and was thoroughly deceived by Sharp. He was promoted to the principalship in 1661, but had much trouble, partly from Gillespie himself, and partly from the burden of debt upon the college which his predecessor had incurred. His health began to fail; these changes in the church, he said, are hastening me to my grave. He wrote to Lauderdale condemning in manly and vigorous terms the passing of the Act Recissory. When Lord Chancellor Glencairn introduced Andrew Fairfoul, the new archbishop, Baillie entertained them handsomely, but refused to give the prelate his titles. "Mr. Andrew," he said, "I will not call you, my lord; King Charles would have made me one of those lords; but I do not find in the New Testament that Christ has any lords in his house." Though calm and cautious in his disposition, Robert Baillie, the Covenanter, proved himself to be a man of sterling principles and of inflexible integrity.

Another eminent minister of the Scottish Church, David Dickson, a member of the same ecclesiastical party and in different places and circumstances closely associated with Baillie, was soon after called away by death. He also died, broken in spirit by the sight of the disasters which had befallen his church, in the close of the year 1662. David Dickson, of whose earlier career we have already spoken, was born in Glasgow about 1583, and studied in the university of his native city, in which he was afterwards appointed regent for the teaching of philosophy, under Principal Boyd, and with Robert Blair as one of his colleagues. After serving in the university for a term of eight years, he received license to preach, and was in 1618 ordained minister of Irvine. In that charge he continued for the long period of twenty-three years. In 1622 archbishop Law of Glasgow summoned him to appear and answer for his opposing the Five Articles of Perth, when, after having been railed upon in a most scurrilous manner by Archbishop Spottiswoode, he was sentenced to be deprived of his ministry and banished to Turriff. After an exile of eighteen months, he

was allowed to return to his flock and to his pastoral duties. At Irvine Dickson's ministry was remarkably fruitful. Communion seasons especially were occasions of rich spiritual blessing to many. Large numbers came to his preaching from surrounding parishes, and his week-day services on Monday, the market day, were thronged with eager crowds, as numerous, at least, as those attending on the Sabbath. He was sent in 1637, as one of the Commissioners, to Aberdeen to endeavour to obtain the adhesion of the celebrated doctors to the Covenant, and carried on debates there with Dr. Forbes, Dr. Baron, Dr. Sibbald, and others. Having taken a prominent and useful part in the discussions of the great Assembly of 1638, especially in the debate about Arminianism, he was chosen moderator of the Assembly of the following year. In 1641 he was translated to Glasgow as professor of divinity at the University where he exercised a powerful influence on the young men who were being trained for the ministry. Among his students was James Durham, who afterwards occupied a prominent position as a popular preacher and an able theologian. Durham and Dickson were joint authors of *The Sum of Saving Knowledge*, a very admirable little work, of which Robert Murray M'Cheyne says that it first of all wrought a saving change in him. This work, as well as his Latin lectures on the Confession of Faith (*Praelectiones in Confessionem Fidei*), was published about 1650, in which year he was transferred from the divinity professorship in Glasgow to a similar chair in the University of Edinburgh. An English translation of the Latin work was published in 1684 under the title: *Truth's Victory over Error*, of which a new edition was issued by Wodrow in 1790. Dickson is now perhaps best known by his *Therapeutica Sacra*, or Cases of Conscience, published first in Latin in 1656, and afterwards in English. He was also the author of several commentaries on books of scripture, in a projected series of expositions of the Old and New Testament to which Hutcheson, Fergusson, Durham and others contributed. Dickson's Commentaries on *The Psalms, Matthew, The*

Epistles, and *Hebrews*, have been published and are well known. His hymn, *O Mother Dear, Jerusalem!* is still occasionally sung. On the restoration of Charles II., he refused to take the oath of supremacy, which gave the king supreme authority in the affairs of the church as well as in those of the state, and was ejected from his professorship. He was sorely distressed on account of the disastrous state of the church and country, and died at a good old age in the last days of the year 1662. He said to Livingston, his dear and faithful friend of fifty years, as he lay upon his death-bed: "I have taken all my good deeds and all my bad deeds, and cast them through each other in a heap before the Lord, and fled from both, and betaken myself to the Lord Jesus Christ, and in Him I have sweet peace."

Robert Blair of St. Andrews was one against whom Sharp seems to have entertained a peculiarly bitter animosity. Mr. Blair was born at Irvine in 1593, studied at Glasgow, and while Regent there, had a considerable doctrinal controversy with the principal, John Cameron. He was deprived of his office of regent in Glasgow University on his refusal to agree to the Perth Articles, when he went to Ireland, and was ordained minister at Bangor in 1623. Soon after this Livingston was also settled in Ireland, and these two like-minded men had much pleasant and profitable fellowship with one another. After his return to Scotland he was, by the Assembly of 1639, sent to St. Andrews, and during the period of his ministry there, he took a very active part in the affairs of church and state under Charles I. and Cromwell. In the dispute between Resolutioners and Protesters he tried to maintain an intermediate position and to be, if possible, a peacemaker between the two parties. He was deprived of his ministry in the beginning of 1662, and after residing in retirement in various places, died in August, 1666. An Englishman who heard Blair preach, in characterizing him along with Rutherford and Dickson, describes him as a sweet, majestic looking man who showed him the majesty of God.

The Court of High Commission under James VI. and

Charles I. had been used as an instrument of intolerable tyranny, and its appointment under Charles II. was evidently and undoubtedly used to secure the certain execution of the king's will in matters which, if left to the ordinary course of justice in the civil and ecclesiastical tribunals, might sometimes have been decided otherwise than was desired. Its proceedings were arbitrary, and such evidence as was led before it seems to have been obtained by a contemptible system of espionage. This court was erected at the instigation of Archbishop Sharp, who was dissatisfied with what he regarded as the remissness of the Lord Chancellor and the Privy Council. It was composed of the archbishop of St. Andrews and all the members of the Privy Council, with others added on whose zeal Sharp thought he could depend; but any five of them might constitute a court provided that an archbishop or a bishop were one of them. The powers of this court and the range of its jurisdiction were almost unrestricted. It was to deal with all who write, speak, preach or print anything to the detriment of the government of the church. During 1664 great numbers of presbyterian ministers and those who showed sympathy with them, were harassed by ruinous fines and banishment or transportation. The council also continued to punish by fine and imprisonment those who were known to conduct or frequent conventicles.

One of the most distinguished of the sufferers under the persecutions of this time was the Rev. William Guthrie, minister of Fenwick, in Ayrshire. He was the eldest son of the laird of Pitforthly in Forfarshire, was born there in 1620, and studied at St. Andrews, in arts under his relative, James Guthrie, and in divinity under Samuel Rutherford. He was called to the ministry at Fenwick, and ordained there in 1644. He found the people in a lamentable state of ignorance, but by assiduous attention and labour he succeeded in persuading most of them to attend his services, and his labours proved remarkably successful. He was a popular preacher and an admirable catechizer. He took an active part in the work of the church courts, and in

the discussion over the public resolutions he joined the side of the Protesters. After the Restoration the favour of the Earls of Eglinton and Glencairn led to Mr. Guthrie's continuing in his parish being connived at. During the early years of the king's reign, when many of the most excellent ministers had been silenced, Mr. Guthrie carried on a singularly fruitful ministry in Fenwick and throughout the surrounding district. The jealousy of the prelates, however, would not suffer this good work to continue. Notwithstanding the personal intercession of Glencairn, the Chancellor, Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow had him suspended, interdicted him from conducting services, and ordered his removal from the parish. This was done on 24th July, 1664. He was, however, allowed to remain in the manse for another year, and during that time he was most useful in the district, though now only in a private way. On business connected with family matters he went on a visit to his native place, and being there seized with a violent and painful disease, he died on the 10th of October, 1665, in his forty-fifth year. Though an excellent scholar, he had been much averse to commit anything that he had written to the press. His only published work is *The Christian's Great Interest*, published in 1658, in order to take the place of a very imperfect edition drawn up without his knowledge from the notes of a hearer. It is well known to all students of Scottish theology as one of the great classics in practical divinity. The excellent little work entitled *A Treatise on Ruling Elders and Deacons*, and sometimes attributed to him, is more likely the work of Mr. James Guthrie.

The ambition of Archbishop Sharp was inordinate. In the beginning of 1664 he procured a letter from the king giving him first place in the Council, even before the chancellor. This was very galling to the chancellor and the rest of the nobility, but even this was not enough to satisfy the aspiring prelate. His heart was set upon receiving himself the office of chancellor. To the king he said that he wanted a chancellor who would be a churchman in heart but not in

habit, and for himself that he would sooner go to the plantations than have such an office. At the same time he eagerly urged Archbishop Sheldon to press his claims to the chancellorship with the king. When it became evident that the king would not agree to this, Sharp suggested that Rothes should be made chancellor. This proposal was exceedingly agreeable to Charles, who allowed Rothes to gather under his own hand all the principal offices of state. As the new chancellor abandoned himself to a life of pleasure, all the real power fell into the hands of Sharp.

In the end of 1665 the Council, which was now taking the place of the Court of High Commission, issued a declaration extending the Acts of 1662 and 1663 so that they should operate against ministers who had been ordained before 1649. These old ministers, if they declined to seek new presentations and admissions, were now to be proceeded against and driven from their homes, heritors and householders were forbidden to give them any countenance, and all magistrates were empowered to imprison them if they appeared within the bounds prohibited. Another proclamation was issued against all withdrawing and ceasing to attend the services of the established church and prohibiting all conventicles or meetings for religious worship other than those allowed by law, and requiring magistrates, justices, constables and other public officers to search for and apprehend all suspected persons and to commit them to the nearest prison till they should be further tried. These enactments pressed very heavily upon those whose conscientious convictions prevented them either disowning the presbyterian ministers and their services, or countenancing the services conducted by those who had accepted the places from which those good men had been ejected. Even the most severely partisan of the episcopalian historians acknowledge that many of the new clergy were sadly deficient both in grace and in endowments, but they maintain that there was not a larger number of such incapables than may be regarded as inevitable on any such occasion where a sudden change of policy all at once

threw hundreds of charges vacant, all requiring immediate and simultaneous supply. But there is clear evidence to show that this is an under-estimation of the general, almost universal, unworthiness and unfitness of the new clergy under the episcopal regime. Bishop Burnet,* a contemporary, who had all along himself been an episcopalian, says of them: "They were the worst preachers I ever heard: they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their orders, and to the sacred functions; and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts." We can easily understand how intolerable it must have been for serious and experienced Christian people who had enjoyed the thoroughly able and richly scriptural preaching of great men and profound scholars like John Livingston, David Dickson, William Guthrie, and many others of that order, to submit to sit down and listen to those wretched drivellers who had been intruded into these parish churches. Such objection might to many seem of itself enough, but in addition to this many had conscientious convictions in regard to those very matters on account of which their old ministers had been deprived. For them to countenance episcopacy by recognising the *Curates* as their ministers would have been as much a violation of their principles as it would have been a renunciation of their convictions on the part of Presbyterian ministers had they accepted presentations from the bishop of the diocese. They were not mere fanatics who made martyrs of themselves by scrupling over trifles, nor were they wrong-headed people who refused to do certain things simply because they had been told to do them by those in authority. They were law-abiding, loyal hearted subjects of the king, who would obey and serve him in all that they might dare to do, and who refused service only when it conflicted with the homage and duty which they owed to God.

These unpopular intruders into the Scottish parishes in-

* Burnet, *History of His Own Times*. London, 1724, Vol. I., p. 229.

creased their unpopularity by the severities which they practised in putting into force the oppressive enactments against those who refused to conform. Burnet, as well as Wodrow, reports many instances of quite needless persecution and irritating interferences on the part of those small-minded and malicious creatures. Endless stories are current of petty annoyances, and mean, vindictive, and spiteful conduct by which these men made themselves utterly odious to the people. Many of them, too, accepted at their own instance the contemptible rôle of informers, and prowled about through their parishes as spies, ferretting out the secrets even of family life, and reporting to the bishops' courts all that they had overheard, with, as may quite fairly be assumed in their case, considerable gratuitous additions. It was also notorious that instead of seeking to restrain the violence of the brutal soldiers and the ferocity of the military officers employed in the persecution, the curates goaded them on to extremities, and threatened, and often fulfilled their threats, to complain to the bishops or Council of what they regarded as indifference or remissness. The archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, Sharp and Burnet, seemed always eager to exaggerate rather than to mitigate sentences proposed to be passed on non-conformists, and they were always ready to put the severest possible interpretation upon the terms of any persecuting measure.

A number of the covenanting ministers had been banished or had retired to Holland. In 1665 John Brown, formerly minister of Wamphray in Dumfriesshire, but now resident in Utrecht or Rotterdam, published a book entitled—*An Apologetic Narration of the Particular Sufferings of the Faithful Ministers and Professors of the Church of Scotland since August, 1660*. The mother of this John Brown was one to whom Samuel Rutherford addressed some of his *Letters*. He was probably settled in Wamphray about 1638, and remained there till dispossessed by the measures passed after the Restoration. Though expelled from his parish, he continued to make use of his gifts wherever any

opportunity was afforded. Active persecution began in May, 1762, and in November of that year he was called before the Council and sentenced to be imprisoned in the Tolbooth till further orders should be given. Judgment was finally given against John Brown, after John Livingston and others had received sentence on December 11th, according to which he was allowed to leave the Tolbooth on condition that he should immediately remove from the king's dominions, and not return without liberty from the king and Council under pain of death. He then went to Holland, where he continued to reside till his death in 1679. He was one of the ablest of our Scottish divines, and wrote many profound theological works both in Latin and English. In the work to which we have above referred, Brown discusses the question of the king's prerogative over parliaments and people, the lawfulness of defensive war, the supreme magistrate's power in church affairs, the hearing of the curates, and several other matters which it was dangerous to deal with in these lines. On 8th February, 1666, a proclamation was issued against this book declaring that on the fourteenth day of that month it should be burnt by the hangman at the market cross in the High Street of Edinburgh, and that all possessors of the book must bring in their copies within a prescribed number of days, and that, if after the time determined any be found to have copies they will be fined in 2000 pounds Scots. Such proceedings, as might have been expected, only made people all the more curious and anxious to know what was in the book which created such a panic in high places.

Complaints were now being made by some of the curates of ministers who had been connived at, that the people were attending meetings held by them in houses and occasionally in the fields. Among the prelates archbishop Burnet was particularly forward, prosecuting all who were complained against, and encouraging the making of such complaints. One of the most ruthless of the persecutors of the presbyterians in the West was Sir James Turner, a soldier of fortune who had

served as a mercenary on the continent and whose mode of life had deadened in him every feeling of humanity and pity. His orders were to follow the directions of the curates, and levy fines, and, by any means he chose to employ, to secure the submission of the people. The barbarities of which the brutal followers of such a leader were guilty passes all description. During the presence of Turner and his dragoons in Galloway and Dumfries a reign of terror prevailed throughout the whole district. This lasted for more than half-a-year. The country had become impoverished by the huge fines imposed and paid, and by the expense and costs incident to the quartering of the soldiers on the people. Gentlemen were made responsible for their dependents, wives, children, tenants. No complaints would be listened to. The soldiers were becoming more bold and violent, and where their spirit had not been crushed, the exasperation of the people had reached the very utmost pitch. One particular incident of barbarous cruelty on a helpless victim, not probably worse than many that had been enacted in that neighbourhood, proved the match applied to the well-stored magazine of combustibles, and immediately the whole country was aflame. In the village of Dalry among the hills of Galloway, on the 13th of November, 1666, four outlawed countrymen, who had been hiding from the enemy, heard that a few soldiers in a neighbouring cottage were inflicting barbarous cruelties on an old man from whom they had been seeking to extort a fine. As they rushed in upon the scene, they heard the soldiers threaten their victim, whom they had bound naked hand and foot, that they would stretch him on a red-hot gridiron. A fight immediately ensued, in which one soldier was wounded and the others disarmed. Feeling that they had already passed beyond the point at which they could recede, and the other villagers recognising their position as equally serious with that of those who had actually participated in the fray, a larger company soon mustered, and coming suddenly on a small party of soldiers in the vicinity, they killed one and made prisoners of the rest. The little band thus encouraged moved onward, grow-

ing rapidly as it advanced. In Dumfries they came unawares upon Sir James Turner himself, and surprising him while yet in bed, they made him prisoner and disarmed his troops. They now publicly declared themselves loyal to the king, and with what many would call mistaken clemency, they even spared the life of Turner, who had never shown any pity toward those who had fallen into his power. Their hope now lay in a general rising in the West, and giving the command to Colonel Wallace, they marched into Argyleshire, and sought to induce the covenanters to make common cause with them in the defence of their religion and their homes. The success of the insurgents in securing accession to their ranks was not great. The Ayrshire Covenanters were not only impoverished but they were also dispirited. To many who were honest hearted enough the enterprise seemed hopeless. Yet everywhere they found a few resolute men who believed that this rising was of God, and who were therefore determined to give their testimony and stand by the cause, however well assured they might be that defeat and even death awaited them. Meanwhile Sharp, who in the absence of the Commissioner, was at the head of the governing body in Scotland, summoned the Council, and immediately declared a state of war, and appointed Dalziel of Binns commander of the army charged with the suppression of the rebellion. This general was a man admirably suited for the work to which he was called, and prepared to execute the cruel purposes of Sharp without compunction and without pity. He had served in the Muscovite army in the wars against the Tartars and the Turks. He was now about sixty-seven years of age, of fierce aspect, with a sharp, keen face, and long white hair, which he had not cut from the day of Charles' death. He was a fanatic, as fanatical as any Covenanter, only his allegiance was not to God but to an earthly tyrant.

The Covenanters, who were now in arms, lost much time and many advantages by moving about hither and thither, taking the covenant and issuing declarations. They mustered in Lanark, but they were little better than a nondescript

mob. Colonel Wallace was a skilful officer, but a few days' drill could not convert this formless mass into an army. Had they remained in Lanark, with friends around them and in a good strategical position, they might for a time at least have held their own, and success at the outset might have induced others to venture in the holy cause. A report had reached them, however, that the people in Edinburgh and the surrounding district were ready to rise if they only appeared among them. Amid a deluge of rain and all through a dark night, they marched on for Edinburgh by way of Bathgate. On the way many of their followers, weary and heartless, deserted, and when they had passed on to Colinton, they found that the capital was in the hands of their enemies and already well defended. They halted at Rullion Green on the slope of the Pentland Hills, and immediately Dalziel and his troops, which had closely pursued them, were approaching ready for the attack. The little Covenanting army, numbering some nine hundred men, fought bravely and for a time had some advantage, but soon the fortune of battle turned against them, and they were completely routed and driven from the field. This first regular battle between the Covenanters and the government took place on the 28th of November, 1666. Forty-five of the Covenanters were left dead upon the battlefield, and somewhere about a hundred were taken prisoners. But this by no means represents the extent of the calamity. It was only the beginning of sorrow. Whether as the result of wild panic, or the outcome of deliberate malice on the part of the leading members of the Council, it is impossible to say, a report became current and was widely believed to the effect that this rising was an incident in a projected general rebellion, and that those engaged upon it had been in correspondence with and acted as the emissaries of the Dutch. This rumour, which was unsupported by any evidence and is now universally discredited, was made a pretext for subjecting certain of the prisoners to torture in order to elicit information that might inculcate others and give apparent ground for the prosecution of parties suspected by or obnoxious to the government. It

was also seen that the persistent reiteration of such charges would increase the public odium against the Covenanters and awaken a wider sympathy with their persecutors. Many would join eagerly in the outcry against rebels and traitors to the national cause from a purely patriotic feeling, who would look with indifference, if not with a certain kindness of feeling, upon those who were risking all for the sake of their religion. For thirty years the barbarous practice of trial by torture, worthy only of the darkest years of the dark ages, had been unknown in Scotland.

Of the prisoners, who vainly pleaded that quarter had been promised them when they surrendered, between thirty and forty were put to death. John Neilson of Corsack, and Hugh M'Kail, a young preacher, were subjected to excruciating tortures. It was Neilson who, with quite an unworldly generosity, had pleaded for the life of his enemy who had most grievously wronged him, Sir James Turner. This did not save him from the agonies of the boot. As stroke after stroke was applied, under the eye and at the direction of the cruel and callous Earl of Rothes, the bones of his limbs were crushed into a mass of pulp. It must be said to the credit of Turner, to whose credit so little can be given, that in remembrance of his great personal indebtedness to Neilson, he interceded earnestly for him, but the curate of the parish, Dalgleish, whose name ought to be handed down in infamy, clamantly insisted that only Neilson's death could make his position sure. He was accordingly executed in the second group of five.

The story of Hugh M'Kail is one of peculiar interest. He was a young man of twenty-six years of age, and had already been for five years a licensed preacher. He had given great offence to Sharp by a sermon which he had preached immediately before the silencing of the ministers of Edinburgh, in which he had spoken of a Pharoah on the throne, a Haman in the State, and a Judas in the church. After this he spent some time in travelling on the continent. Ten days before the skirmish at Rullion Green, he had joined the party which had mustered

under Colonel Wallace. He was, however, of a somewhat delicate constitution, so that the hardships of the march left him utterly worn out and unfit for any service. At Cramond, on the day before the battle, he left the army, and was making his way by the Braids Craggs to Liberton Tower, the home of his uncle by whom he had been brought up, when he was seized by some countrymen who had been sent to scour the district in search of any stragglers leaving or seeking to join the band of the Covenanters. He was subjected to torture similar to that inflicted on Neilson, but had no confession to make or secret plot to reveal. He was now sentenced to death by hanging. "The fear of my neck," said he to some one who asked him about his shattered limb, "makes me forget my leg." On the 22nd of December he was led forth to the scaffold. There he behaved with remarkable fortitude. His dying words of farewell are often quoted as a perfect specimen of pathetic eloquence. "And now I leave off to speak to creatures, and turn my speech to thee, O Lord. And now I begin my intercourse with God which shall never be broken off. Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations; farewell the world and all delights; farewell meat and drink; farewell sun, moon and stars. Welcome God and Father; welcome sweet Jesus, the Mediator of the New Covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of grace and God of all consolation; welcome glory; welcome eternal life; and welcome death."

The death of these men lies on the head of Sharp. It is reported that Burnet, the archbishop of Glasgow, brought down a letter from the king in which it was said that it seemed to him that enough blood had been shed, and that now all who promised to be peaceful should be discharged and the obstinate sent to the plantations. It was assumed that Burnet had communicated this letter to Sharp as head of the Council, and that together they connived at the suppression of it till the executions were over. This vindictiveness and bloodthirstiness, with which Sharp was generally credited, told heavily against him when his own day of reckoning came.

Throughout the rest of the year 1666, General Dalziel continued his ruthless barbarities in Ayrshire. The gentlemen of the West were now impoverished by repeated and enormous exactions, and the whole population was dispirited and destitute. Worn out with the struggle many reluctantly enough went to the curate's services, and for a time it seemed as if the policy of persecution had been a success. The agents now employed, however, were, in their mad ferocity, fast pushing things to an extremity. In this execrable work Dalziel far surpassed Turner in his barbarities, but even he was in some respects outdistanced by Sir William Bannatyne, who was now largely used in this service. Chapters might be filled with stories of diabolical cruelties perpetrated by Dalziel, who quartered himself in Kilmarnock and made havoc of the district round about. Bannatyne, as well as Dalziel, was almost constantly drunk, and by his own example and practice, as well as by refusing to exercise any restraint upon his men, encouraged the most hideous outrages upon women, and the most cowardly infliction of suffering on the weak and helpless. Even those who had fought in the Royalist army at the Pentlands were harassed and treated with indignity if they showed any sympathetic feeling for the oppressed.

The fall of Clarendon, whose influence had hitherto been supreme, led to the introduction of a less severe policy in the government of Scotland. The Scottish nobles had long been writhing under the haughty dictation of the prelates. "Woe's me!" cried Chancellor Glencairn, after archbishop Burnet had disdainfully refused to spare William Guthrie of Fenwick at his earnest request, "we have advanced these men to be bishops, and they will trample upon us all." The most capable statesmen now plainly perceived that personal ambition and not patriotic fervour was the moving principle with Sharp and all his crew. Notwithstanding the hysterical appeals of the archbishops for the continued application of severe measures, the new ministry resolved to disband the army of the West and no longer to insist upon the abjuring of the covenant, but only to require that the

suspected should enter into bonds. "Now that the army is disbanded," said the archbishop of Glasgow, "the gospel will go out of my diocese." Rothes, the cruel Commissioner, who had become a tool of the prelates, was dismissed, and Sharp was commanded to confine himself to his own ecclesiastical province. Lauderdale, though resident in London, was now at the head of the Scottish government, and while as a courtier he was determined to please the king, he had no intention of serving the will of the bishops. The Earls of Teviotdale and Kincardine, and Sir Robert Murray, as members of the new government, advocated milder measures and the presbyterians enjoyed a short breathing time. Sir James Turner and Sir William Bannatyne were found to have made exactions beyond their commission, and were both dismissed his Majesty's service. No abatement, however, was made in the restrictions put upon ministers, and the enactments against conventicles were made rather stricter and more severe. The bond itself was too comprehensive to be satisfactory. The person taking it bound himself to keep the peace and not take up arms against his Majesty or without his authority, and gentlemen were bound also for their tenants and servants under penalty of a full year's rent. Many were inclined to scruple at the obligation as involving consent to existing forms of government in the church as well as in the state. At the same time advantage was taken of the withdrawal of the Western army, for the holding of conventicles with comparative boldness throughout the country. Ministers conducting such meetings and people attending them were liable to prosecution as before, but fines could not be collected now as they had been formerly by the soldiers. Tweeddale was earnestly seeking a satisfactory basis for an indulgence or an accommodation, and the king and Council were distinctly in favour of such an attempt being made.

These negotiations on behalf of a mutual good understanding, which were being honestly pursued on both sides, were suddenly brought to an end by a singularly unfortunate and inopportune occurrence. Mr. James Mitchell was

a young preacher of very moderate gifts, but of great zeal and undoubted piety. He had been at the Pentland rising and was excluded from the benefit of the indemnity. He seems to have been of a rash disposition, and his sufferings and privations seem to have somewhat unhinged his mind. It occurred to him that he might serve the cause of religion by ridding the world of one whom he regarded as the prime cause of all the miseries inflicted upon himself and his friends. He accordingly waited for Sharp one day in July, 1668, as he was entering his coach at the head of Blackfriar's Wynd in Edinburgh, and discharged a pistol at the primate when he had taken his seat. Honeyman, bishop of Orkney, happened at the moment to be stepping into the coach after Sharp, and the shot struck his wrist and shattered his arm. Mitchell quietly walked away, reached his lodgings, and after changing his coat walked out boldly among the crowd, and for the time escaped observation. Sharp, who knew well that it was he who had been aimed at, was in a state of great excitement and terror, and the Council was indignant that such an attempt at violence should have been made. The deed was the impulsive act of an individual, but the prelate and his party thought, or pretended to think, that it was part of an organised plot. Numerous arrests were now made of parties who had allowed outed ministers to preach in their houses or who had attended such meetings, and every effort was made to find out if any of them had knowledge of the man who had sought the archbishop's life. Many gentlemen and gentlewomen were heavily fined, and many were transported to the plantations.

After this delay caused by the panic that arose over the attempt on the archbishop's life, the measure which Tweeddale and others had been endeavouring to draft was at last brought forward. In July, 1669, the first *Indulgence* granted to Presbyterians was published. The chief mischief which this and subsequent indulgences wrought was the dissensions which they occasioned among the brethren, and Sharp seems to have done his utmost to make this indul-

gence a bone of contention among the presbyterians. This indulgence allowed those ejected ministers who had behaved in an orderly manner to resume work in their former parishes if vacant, or to accept new presentations and to receive the stipends, if they would accept collation and attend presbyteries and synods, and even if they declined to do this they would be allowed to officiate in the parishes to which they might be appointed, with possession of manse and glebe, and a certain specified stipend. This arrangement was offensive both to the prelates and to the more rigid presbyterians; but forty ministers, including Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, immediately took advantage of the concession. The stern Covenanters charged the indulged with submitting to an Erastian arrangement, and called them king's curates, who undertook to avoid reference to subjects which might call forth the royal displeasure. It was not, however, altogether a disadvantage, that they should cease preaching to the times, as it was called, and should give their attention exclusively to spiritual and truly scriptural teaching.

The opposition offered to this measure of Indulgence by Archbishop Burnet and his clergy called forth from the Council an order that the archbishop should retire to Glasgow, while they condemned his remonstrance and reported the matter to the king. A royal letter was received laying Archbishop Burnet aside from acting as archbishop of Glasgow, and so, on 6th January, 1670, the Council finds that the archbishop has demitted his office and declares his name removed from the roll of Council. Burnet thus for once stands alongside of the strictest of the Covenanters as a sufferer for his protest against the royal supremacy. Bishop Leighton of Dunblane was persuaded to accept the archbishopric *in commendam*, until, in the end of 1672, he resigned the bishopric of Dunblane, and was appointed archbishop of Glasgow, which office he continued to hold till Archbishop Burnet was restored to his see in 1674.

Archbishop Leighton used his new position to make an earnest endeavour to bring about an accommodation between

the episcopal and presbyterian ministers. He chose six excellent clergymen, of whom Gilbert Burnet, the well-known historian and afterwards bishop of Salisbury, and Lawrence Charteris, afterwards Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh, were the most distinguished, to preach in vacant churches throughout the western counties in favour of his scheme of union. They found the people wonderfully well informed upon all questions in dispute, and as they were followed in this circuit by some of the most extreme of the presbyterian ministers, their mission was attended with very little success. At a Conference held in December, 1679, in Paisley, Leighton, with two clergymen and two laymen of his diocese, met thirty presbyterian ministers, and laid before them the terms of the proposed accommodation referred to in these six propositions: "1. That, if the dissenting brethren will come to presbyteries and synods, they shall not only not be obliged to renounce their own private opinions about church government, and swear or subscribe anything thereto, but shall have the liberty, at their entry to the said meeting, to declare and enter it in what form they please; 2. That all church affairs shall be managed in presbyteries and synods, by the free vote of presbyters or the major part of them; 3. If any differences fall out in the diocesan synods betwixt any of the members thereof, it shall be lawful to appeal to a provincial synod or their committee; 4. The entrants being lawfully presented by their patron, and duly tried by the presbytery, there shall be a day agreed on by the bishop and presbytery for their meeting together for their solemn ordination and admission, at which there shall be one appointed to preach, and that it shall be at the parish church where he is to be admitted, except in the case of impossibility or extreme inconveniency; and if any difference fall out touching that affair, it shall be referable to the provincial synods or their committee, as any other matter; 5. It is not to be doubted but the Lord Commissioner will make good what he offered regarding the establishment of presbyteries and synods; and we trust his Grace will procure such security to those brethren for declaring their judgment,

that they may do it without any hazard in contravening any law ; and that the bishops shall humbly and earnestly recommend this to his Grace ; 6. That no entrant shall be engaged to any canonical oath or subscription to the bishop, and that his opinion regarding that government shall not prejudice him in this, but that it shall be free for him to declare." In January, 1671 the two parties met, in order that the presbyterians might say how they viewed these propositions. Mr. Hutcheson, speaking for the rest, said that they could not in their consciences accept them ; and though Leighton expressed his astonishment, as well as deep disappointment, it is evident that their acceptance would have involved the practical abandonment of presbyterianism. Such modified episcopacy would soon have reverted to full blown prelacy. As to the practicability of the proposal there must be different opinions, but there can be only one opinion of the purity of Leighton's motives and the admirable peace-loving disposition which he manifested throughout the whole negotiations.

Lauderdale's parliament of 1670 passed severe measures against ministers and others who took part in or frequented meetings held either in houses or in the fields outside of the services of the established clergy, and of the ministers who had accepted the Indulgence. Even reading or exposition of Scripture in a house to a company embracing others than the members of the family was regarded as illegal ; and field meetings, including services at which some gathered to listen to preaching or lecturing outside of the house in which it was given, were treated as acts of rebellion. The fine exacted of those attending field conventicles was double of that levied from those who had been convicted of holding or attending a house conventicle. The reason given for the hasty passing of this severe law was the terror occasioned by a field conventicle held at Hill of Beith in Fife, at which Mr. John Blackadder preached, while armed guards secured the meeting against interruption. At a later session of parliament in 1672 an Act was passed forbidding unauthorised persons to ordain, and declaring ordinations that

were conferred since 1661 null and void, and ordering that those so ordaining and those so ordained should be fined and banished. Some explain the passing of such severe measures by the supposition that Lauderdale had the sinister purpose of rendering the clergy odious and those persecuting enactments inoperative on account of their excessive character. Much more probably they are to be explained as evidencing the bitterness and malice of a renegade, who sought at once to stifle the reproaches of his own conscience by the rigour and impetuosity of his procedure, and to give assurance to the king that, notwithstanding his earlier association with the Covenanters, he would extend to them no favour and show no pity. In September, 1672, the Council issued what is called the *Second Indulgence*,* the terms of which are given in three acts:—(1) Somewhere about eighty presbyterian ministers are assigned to fifty-eight parishes in the south and west of Scotland, to which they are confined; (2) it is enacted that such indulged ministers perform marriages and baptisms only in the parishes in which they are confined or in neighbouring vacant parishes, that all those in one diocese celebrate the communion on one and the same day, and receive none without certificates from their ministers, that they preach only *within* their churches, that they do not go out of their parish without license from the bishop, that cases of discipline formerly referable to presbyteries be still so dealt with, and that the ordinary dues to bursars and clerks of presbyteries and synods be paid by the ministers; (3) it is also enacted that all ministers not thus indulged forbear exercising any ministerial function, and that all outed ministers attend ordinances in the churches of the parishes in which they reside. This Indulgence with its manifestly Erastian limitations was the cause of wide and deep divisions among the presbyterians. Many argued that it was right to resume work in a place from

* See a very full account of these indulgences from the point of view of the ministers in Holland in Brown (of Wamphray), *History of the Indulgence*.

which they had been iniquitously ejected, when the opportunity was given them of returning. They maintained that they took the good in the liberty granted, and meddled not with the evil of it. Others held that if they accepted the privilege they would be guilty of what was evil in the granting of it, that the indulged would be rightly regarded as homologating and approving of the assumptions which underlay the act of indulgence. The accepting or rejecting of the indulgence, however, was not to be considered a cause for separation. Some of the exiled ministers in Holland would have charged those who did not preach against the indulgence with unfaithfulness, but the more prudent ministers at home, however little they liked the terms of the new measure, maintained that there were times when insistence from the pulpit on certain truths was unseasonable. Thus for a time peace was maintained between indulged and non-indulged, and those who could not themselves accept the indulgence still regarded the indulged as Christian brethren and acknowledged their ministry.

This indulgence did very little in the way of reducing the number or frequency of conventicles. Not only did those ministers who declined the indulgence and those who sympathised with them continue to hold meetings in houses and in the fields, but even the indulged ministers refused to hold themselves bound by all the restrictions which the enactment laid upon them. In order, therefore, to pacify the prelates it was necessary to pass in April, 1673, another measure against conventicles, in which good subjects are called upon to assist in putting them down by turning informers. If they fail to give information, then for each conventicle not reported on they are to be fined in one-fourth of their yearly rent, one-third of which goes to the sheriff as his hire and another third to the informer against the heritor who had failed to inform. Another measure of the same kind passed in the following year required masters to dismiss from their service any who frequented such meetings and heritors to require tenants in their tacks to abstain from conventicles. A subsequent Act of Council gives to

those who seize persons at such gatherings the fines exacted of them on conviction; while any one who apprehends a minister who is conducting or has conducted such services gets one thousand merks, or two thousand merks if the party arrested is Welsh, Semple, or Arnot, three noted conventiclers.

John Welsh, for whose apprehension the large reward of 2000 merks was offered, was the grandson of the famous John Welsh of Ayr. He was ejected from his church of Irongray in Dumfriesshire in 1662. "He was," says Kirkton,* "the boldest undertaker that ever I heard of as a minister in Christ's church, old or late; for notwithstanding all the threats of the state, the great price set upon his head, the spite of the bishops, the diligence of the blood hounds, he maintained his difficult post of preaching upon the mountains of Scotland many times to many thousands for near twenty years; and yet was always kept out of his enemies' hands. It is well known that Bloody Clavers, upon intelligence that he was lurking in some secret place, would have ridden forty miles in a winter night, yet when he came to the place he had always missed his prey. I have known him ride three days and two nights without sleep, and preach upon a mountain at midnight in one of these nights." Welsh had been present at Rullion Green, and succeeded in escaping from the field along with Colonel Wallace. At a Court of Assize in August, 1667, Welsh, along with a large number of distinguished men, laymen and ministers, was declared fugitive and forfeited in life and fortune. He was thus all through his subsequent career an outlaw, with this sentence of death pronounced against him. In July, 1674, we find three gentlemen of Fife fined in large sums, in addition to fines for attending conventicles, because of their harbouring and protecting John Welsh. The occasion on which these gentlemen rendered themselves amenable to the barbarously unjust laws of that time, was the holding of a conventicle at Torwood, a place famous for such meetings.

* *Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 219.

In 1676 Welsh was living quietly on Tweedside, just over the English border, where the country gentlemen were more or less favourable, and connived at the residence there throughout the winter of several persecuted Scottish presbyterians. Along with other like minded men, Welsh did much splendid work through Cumberland and Northumberland, and in 1677 he returned to Scotland and held field meetings in the southern and western districts. Being an outlaw, with a large price upon his head, he was carefully guarded by his friends, and travelled everywhere with a company of young men armed for their own and his defence.

Reports of an exaggerated character were circulated as to the numbers of armed men present at the gatherings of the Covenanters, and several of the councillors seem to have fallen into an excitement of terror as to their personal safety. This was especially the case with Sharp, who was naturally of a cowardly and timid disposition. Ever since the attempt to assassinate him in Edinburgh, the escape and survival of the would-be assassin lay upon him like the burden of a nightmare. He could have no rest till the culprit was found, and put beyond the possibility of repeating the attempt. He thought that he recognised the face of the man who fired the pistol at him in a shopkeeper's near the house in which he lodged in Edinburgh. According to Burnet's story, Sharp sent to this man, and under solemn promise of immunity, persuaded him to make confession. In February, 1674, Mitchell was called before the Council, and having been warned against trusting to promises of pardon, he refused to make confession, and demanded that proof should be produced of the charges against him. As there was no proof forthcoming, and the Council seemed unwilling to make the confession given under privilege the sole ground of condemnation, the case was departed from and the prisoner sent to the Bass. After enduring imprisonment for two years he was again summoned before the Council and put to the excruciating torture of the boot in order to extort a confession against himself of being at Pentland.

His accusers could get nothing out of him, and after he had fainted under the torture, he was carried out to the Tolbooth. It is told in Robert Law's *Memorials of Remarkable Things* that when it was reported that Mitchell was to be tortured in the other leg, some of his friends sent a letter to Sharp assuring him that if this were done he should have a shot from a steadier hand, and that thereupon he was left alone, but still kept in prison. In the beginning of January, 1678, he was again indicted before the court. It would seem that in the meantime Sharp had overcome the scruples of those who had given their word for his safety on the score of his confession. The confession was now produced as evidence against him. Rothes, Lauderdale, Sharp, on oath denied that any promise of immunity had been given to Mitchell, which must be regarded as a most deliberate act of perjury on the part of all of them. The record of this promise was found signed by Rothes, and though the councillors sought to discredit the record and blame Sir John Nisbet, this official was able to show that his entries in the book afforded a true report of what had been done. Mitchell was accordingly sentenced to be hanged at the Grassmarket on 18th January, and his death, wholly due to the unrelenting vengeance of Sharp, and brought about by such unscrupulous proceedings, did more than any other single occurrence to bring about and exasperate that bitter antipathy to the archbishop, which issued in his tragical death. As to Mitchell's case, Sir Walter Scott* very fairly estimates the feelings which it awakened in the community: "The man was executed," he says, "with more disgrace to his judges than to himself, the consideration of his guilt being lost in the infamous manœuvres used in bringing him to punishment."

The failure of all the severe laws passed against conventicles had now become notorious, and the government seemed to feel keenly the humiliation of failure. The largest rewards offered for information about well-known

* *Tales of a Grandfather*, vol. II., p. 252.

preachers, had not secured their apprehension. Accordingly, a further attempt was made to intimidate those who might be inclined to favour the outlaws. In 1675, letters of Intercommuning were issued against certain individuals obnoxious to the government. This was a barbarous stretching of the sentence of outlawry. It required that the nearest relatives should refuse shelter or any sort of help to the intercommuned. Having any intercourse with such an one, though he might be husband, brother, son, was now made an offence, and the attempt was thus made to drive all sympathizers with the Covenanters beyond the pale of human society. These letters were issued against about a hundred individuals—ministers, landed proprietors, ladies. Whoever gave them food or clothing or shelter, fell immediately into the same condemnation with themselves. Such proscribed persons had, in many cases, to betake themselves to wild and inaccessible places, where they were hunted down like beasts of prey, and driven to concert together schemes of self-defence and retaliatory vengeance.

It is evident that the measures taken by the persecutors—measures which every year increased in severity—were goading men on to the very madness of despair, and driving many against their will to enter upon violent and desperate courses. The determination of Sharp, even in cases where other members of the Council were strongly disinclined to proceed, to secure conviction and sentence of death against his victims, rendered him, more than any other individual in the country, the object of intense dislike and popular abhorrence. For being present at a conventicle near North Berwick, James Learmont was sentenced to be beheaded, and was executed at the Grassmarket on 27th October, 1678. Lord Castlehill strongly opposed such a sentence, and when it was passed immediately drove home from the Court in displeasure. On the report of this he was deprived of his office as a Lord of Session for three or four years. It was notorious that on all occasions Sharp opposed every proposal to show clemency to any one on trial for his life.

The exasperation rapidly spreading was greatly increased by the bringing down into the western and south-western country of the Highland Host, a mob or rabble of wild, uncivilized hillsmen, about 8,000 or 10,000 in number, who were allowed to plunder without restraint the houses and estates of all gentlemen under suspicion, and to commit unspeakable atrocities wherever they went. These ruthless savages were directed by the curates, and the odium of their barbarities rightly fell on those who made use of them. In his drunken ravings Lauderdale had said, in answer to those who complained of the devastation of the fine lowland country, that "it were better that the west bore nothing but windle straws and sandy laverocks, than that it should bear rebels to the king." But even he, with all his mad infatuation, was beginning to see that the people would stand no more. And so, after two months of unrestrained pillage, the Highlanders retired, laden with booty as from a foreign campaign. The speedy disbanding of the Host has been ascribed to the disappointment of Lauderdale, who had looked for such a resistance on the part of the west country gentlemen as would give a fair colour of reason for organizing a standing army to suppress rebellion, and for confiscating their estates to his own and his associates' advantage. The patience with which those gentlemen, well aware of his sinister purpose, endured the injustice and violence to which they were subjected, spoiled his plot, and showed that only the rough Highlanders, and not Lauderdale and his fellow courtiers, would be enriched by the continued presence of the marauders.

In order the more successfully to deal with the preachers at conventicles and their hearers, who had not been in the least deterred by the severity of past measures, an order was obtained from the king for the calling of a Convention to deliberate upon steps to be taken for the more effectual suppression of field conventicles, which were represented as rendezvouses of rebellion. The Convention met on the 10th July, 1678. Great care had been taken that only parties who could be trusted to carry out the will of the persecu-

tors should be elected members. A cess or assessment of £150,000 was imposed upon the country for the purpose of raising an army for putting a stop to these meetings. This proposal immediately gave occasion to differences among the Covenanters. While some argued that as a tax imposed by authority they ought to pay it, and others that it must be yielded to as a necessity seeing that their refusal would only lend a plea to the enemy for taking more, the stricter and thoroughly consistent Covenanters maintained that as a tax levied for the avowed purpose of persecution, they dare not yield to pay it. By means of the revenue which this tax supplied, a force of five thousand foot and five hundred horse was raised, to be used wholly for persecution, and for the extorting of ruinous fines from those who refused on conscientious grounds to abstain from attendance at meetings conducted by the ministers whom they loved and trusted.

Sharp had been extremely indignant at those who in the immediate vicinity of his residence continued fearlessly and frequently to hold meetings for worship and to refuse countenance to the curates. At this time Fife seems to have been the favourite haunt of those whom the archbishop sought to destroy. A creature of his, a profane and profligate wretch, called Carmichael, bankrupt in fortune and character, had been appointed by Sharp to act for him throughout the country. He was entrusted with ample powers to deal at his discretion with all who absented themselves from church or were suspected of attending conventicles. He had used his license in a thoroughly unprincipled way. His lust and cruelty knew no bounds. He was in the habit of subjecting servants, men and women, to the most horrid tortures in order to extort information from them about their masters and mistresses. The tyranny and oppression of this scoundrel had become altogether intolerable. A plot was, therefore, concocted for his apprehension. Having been informed that he was to be hunting one day in a particular part of the shire, a number of gentlemen who had been outlawed by recent enactments agreed to lie in wait for

him, and rid the county of a pest, and themselves and their families of one who had often caused them fears much worse than death. Warned by a shepherd lad who told him that he had been enquired for, Carmichael got out of the way. Disappointed in the object they had in view, the party were about to separate and return severally to their homes, when a report suddenly reached them that Sharp himself was on the road only a little way ahead of where they stood.

The unexpected nearness of the archbishop seemed to to these men a call from God in His providence to deal with the prime mover in the wrongs of their church and country rather than with an underling. David Hackston of Rathillet opposed the proposal to pursue and cut off their persecutor, but he stood alone in his objection, and so he resolved not to part company with the rest. The only other man of distinction in the group was John Balfour of Kinloch, commonly called Burley. The primate was returning from Edinburgh, where he had been engaged in urging the Council to pass an act against the carrying of arms, aimed at securing more effectually the suppression of conventicles. He was travelling homeward in his carriage, along with his daughter, and had halted at Kennoway over night and rested for a little at Ceres. He was now on the road between Ceres and St. Andrews when his pursuers, mounted on horses, came in view. The archbishop's servants were soon overpowered and the traces of the coach were cut. They were only about two miles from St. Andrews, at a place called Magus Muir. As he refused to leave the coach, they fired in upon him, but his wounds seem not to have been mortal. When he was at last induced to come out, he pled with his assailants, promising them remission and offering them money, if they would spare his life. On his entreating for mercy, the leader of the band said that as he had never showed mercy so no mercy would be shown to him. He was at last put to death with their swords. A search was made in the luggage which he carried for papers and arms, and these only were taken. This was done on the 3rd of May, 1679. There were soldiers stationed at four

different points round about where this tragedy was enacted, and yet, though all was done about midday, no one appeared to prevent the escape of those who had taken part in this wild deed.

Few mourned over the archbishop's death. He was disliked by the nobles for his overbearing conduct in the Council, and among all ranks of presbyterians he was held in utter detestation. Only a comparatively small number of the more fanatical among the Covenanters approved of the doings of those who slew him. All moderate men condemned the act as at once unwise and unchristian. Hackston had sought to dissuade his comrades from engaging in the enterprise, showing them how surely it would be used as a pretext for the passing of severer measures against those whose sufferings were already hard enough. Those of the presbyterian party whose personal piety was most intense felt that it was a vain thing to seek by the wrath of man to work out the righteousness of God. As for the archbishop himself, the contemporary view of his character has become the verdict of posterity. An ecclesiastic with little trace of personal religion, cold-hearted and callous, so that he could look on unmoved at the tortures of his victims; timid and cowardly, so that he shrank from the prospect of pains much less severe than those he inflicted without compunction on others; faithless and regardless of his word, so that even a solemn oath was not allowed to interfere with the attainment of his ambition; a renegade who had made himself infamous to those he betrayed, and without respect among those whom, for selfish ends, he now professed to serve, he had lived much too long for his own honour and for the good of the nation.

The news of the primate's death was received by the Council with outward signs of indignation, and a large reward was offered for the apprehension of those who had been active in the tragedy. They were, however, already in the West among their friends and sympathizers, and their presence there fanned the smouldering fire of discontent into a full blaze of rebellion. The Act, which Sharp in his last

appearance at the Council had with difficulty passed, against the carrying of arms, was now issued. But the men of Ayrshire and the West were already in such a fever of excitement as no edicts of Council could any longer restrain. The idea of resisting by force the tyranny that had become intolerable was now with many a fixed and settled conviction. Of the intercommuned ministers, Donald Cargill, Richard Cameron and Thomas Douglas enthusiastically advocated this course. Robert Hamilton, a pious man, but one with a violent and domineering temper, gathered round him a group of ardent and zealous young men, who were determined no longer to submit to the suffering of indignity and loss, nor yet to the signing of bonds by which their consciences were ensnared. In order to make a public testimony on behalf of their views, they formed themselves into a company consisting of some eighty armed men, and on the 29th May, 1679, the anniversary of the Restoration, they marched in to Rutherglen, extinguished the bonfires, burned the Acts of Council and Parliament which embodied the persecuting edicts, and affixed to the market cross the testimony which they had publicly read. This is usually called the Rutherglen Declaration. In this paper that section of the Covenanters, calling themselves the true presbyterian party in Scotland, gave testimony against the Act Rescissory, the Acts enacting prelacy, enforcing renunciation of the Covenant, ousting of faithful ministers, imposing the anniversary of the Restoration, the royal supremacy and the usurping of power in offering the indulgence.

The news of this daring deed soon reached Glasgow. One of the recently levied troops commanded by John Graham of Claverhouse was stationed in that city. Graham immediately undertook the pursuit of those who had so boldly thrown down the gauntlet. At Hamilton, on Saturday night, he came upon a small company of Covenanters and an intercommuned minister, Mr. John King, who had probably gathered with the intention of attending a meeting on the following day. They did not belong to the Rutherglen party, but they were seized by Claverhouse, some fifteen in

number, and carried along as prisoners. On Sabbath morning, June 1st, he marched from Hamilton to Strathaven, and hearing of a conventicle that was to be held at Loudon Hill, at which Thomas Douglas was to preach, a few miles further on, he hastened on in that direction carrying his prisoners with him. After the service had begun, the news of Graham's approach spread among the congregation. The armed men among them gathered together, forty horseman and one hundred and fifty on foot. They went forward, and taking up a strong position waited the advance of the troopers. The place where Claverhouse and the Covenanters met was called Drumclog. The countrymen led by Hamilton and Colonel Clelland behaved with great valour, and after answering the first onslaught of the enemy with a well-directed fire, Hackston and Balfour made a sudden dash forward. Somewhere about forty of the troopers were slain and several wounded, and others who were taken prisoners were disarmed and sent away. The commander's horse was shot under him, and he himself narrowly escaped. The humiliation of this defeat was keenly felt by Claverhouse, and his return in such a plight spread dismay among the troops in Glasgow. Had the conquerors now pressed on to the city without delay, it is probable that they would have found the soldiers in confusion, and would have gained such an advantage as would have encouraged many waverers to attach themselves to their cause. They went back, however, to the meeting which they had left, and when on the following day they advanced upon Glasgow, they found the city barricaded and put into a state of defence. The little army had received considerable accessions by the way, and in their attack displayed great gallantry; but Hamilton's generalship was bad, while he seemed in a cowardly fashion to avoid all personal risk. They were obliged at last to withdraw, after having lost six or eight men.

The fanaticism and wrong-headedness of some who arrogated the leadership brought utter ruin upon this enterprise. Instead of sinking all minor differences and securing

the hearty co-operation of all true and honest presbyterians, Hamilton and his party raised the question of the Indulgence, condemning those who had taken it and paid cess, and also resolved to renounce allegiance to the king for his breach of the covenant and many acts of tyranny. It is often said that these disputes were started or fomented by the ministers. But it is only common justice to the memory of those good men to record that out of eighteen who were with the army only two, Cargill and Douglas, were in sympathy with these fanatical views. These sixteen, just as well as the two, had refused themselves to take the Indulgence, and had suffered heavily for their refusal. But they were broad-minded enough and had sufficient common sense to see that those who differed from them on this question were as true presbyterians as they were, and that they were quite as ready as themselves to do what they could for the deliverance of their church and nation. They were treated by the domineering Hamiltonian party, as base traitors to the cause, and men who had for years risked their lives for the spiritual independence of the church were branded as worldly-minded, time-serving Erastians. The leader of this liberal and enlightened party was John Welsh of Irongray, on whose head a much higher reward was placed than on that of any other. He and his compatriots who had all these years taken their lives in their hands, and had been hunted as outlaws on the mountains, were now pleading for tolerance and moderation.

The Covenanting army, which had grown to considerable dimensions, was unfortunate in its officers. Hamilton was incompetent, self-willed, and inexperienced. He was besides recognised as the prime mover in the counsels of the narrowest and most extreme party, and so was wholly distrusted and disliked by the rest. They were not yet agreed about their officers, when the royal army, commanded by Monmouth, the king's son, marched toward them from Edinburgh, and encamped within a mile or two of where they lay. Both armies were in the vicinity of Hamilton, only the river Clyde separating the one from the other. It was well known

that Monmouth was of a gentle and generous disposition, and most averse to cruelty and persecution. The more moderate of the Covenanters, therefore, were disposed to treat with him in order if possible to come to terms and thus escape the horrors and miseries of war. After long discussions and violent altercations, the form of a supplication to the duke was agreed upon, and on Sabbath morning, the 22nd of June, John Welsh and another appeared before the royalist camp and had an interview with the commander. Monmouth received them in a kindly manner, expressed his personal wish to avoid extremities, and assured them that he had every reason to believe that he could prevail upon the king to grant all reasonable concessions. He said, however, that an essential condition of entering on treaty negotiations was their immediate laying down of their arms and their surrendering themselves to his mercy. He asked them to return to their company and lay these terms before them, which if they did not within half-an-hour agree to accept, hostilities would commence. Hamilton and his party angrily opposed all overtures of peace, and the half-hour was spent in furious debate and denunciation of all moderate proposals. The royal troops now advanced on Bothwell Bridge. A small company of countrymen under Hackston of Rathillet had been sent to keep the bridge about the centre of the narrow defile. They maintained their post with great intrepidity, inflicting serious loss upon the enemy, until their ammunition failed. They sent to Hamilton for supplies, or to have their place taken up by a well-equipped company. Instead of receiving supplies or relief, they were ordered to retire; and so, with heavy hearts, those brave men when they had fired their last shot, withdrew, and the royal troops without resistance marched regularly and leisurely across the bridge. It is impossible to find language adequately to characterise the conduct of Hamilton. His incompetence is patent, but his withdrawing the men from the bridge, and afterwards preventing those who were willing to venture their lives from taking up again the position that a mere child might

have seen must be held at all hazards, his standing aside by himself and keeping his troop all the while idle, and his early flight from the field, can be explained only by assuming that with all his obstinacy he was an arrant coward, and that he would rather see his compatriots slaughtered and their cause lost than success by the hands of those who would not in all things submit to his narrow and peremptory dictation. When Monmouth's troops had crossed the bridge and formed in orderly ranks behind their cannon, the field was practically secured, and after the slightest pretence of resistance the Covenanters rushed away in all directions in disorder and confusion. Granted a leader with the slightest spark of common sense the battle of Bothwell Bridge might have been a brilliant and decisive victory for those who fought for their liberty and their religion. As it was, the defeat was absolutely disastrous. Few fell in action—there was little action to fall in—but four hundred perished in the flight, and somewhere about a thousand were taken prisoners.

The prisoners taken at Bothwell Bridge had before them a long period of sore suffering and privation. Several hundreds of them were huddled together in Greyfriars' Churchyard. They were kept there exposed to the inclemency of the weather for some four or five months. They were scantily clad and scantily fed, their heartless guards stealing from them any warm clothing they might have and a considerable share of the provisions that were brought to them. Two hundred and fifty were shipped at Leith for Barbadoes to be sold there as slaves. Crowded together in the narrow hold of a miserable little vessel, they must have regarded death a merciful relief when they were wrecked on the Orkney coast and over two hundred of them found a watery grave. A considerable number obtained release upon their taking a bond promising that they would not again appear in arms against or without the authority of his Majesty. But even these after they returned to their homes were subjected to endless troubles and interferences on account of their having been present at Bothwell Bridge.

During his residence in Edinburgh, Monmouth did what he could to ameliorate the condition of the prisoners, but on his leaving all such concessions were recalled.

Two ministers, Mr. John King and Mr. John Kid, who were among the prisoners, were put on trial. King was a prisoner of Claverhouse, liberated at Drumclog; Kid had been at Bothwell Bridge, and confessed to having conducted conventicles at which armed men kept guard. Kid was cruelly tortured in order that he might reveal the secrets of a general plot, but he had no revelations to make. They were both found guilty on their own confession, and sentenced to be hung at the Grassmarket on 14th August, 1679, to have their property forfeited, and their heads and right arms cut off and disposed of according to the orders of the Council.

It was thought well to improve the occasion by having an execution carried out on the scene of the death of archbishop Sharp. Five men who had been at Bothwell, against whom, however, nothing could be brought that was not common to all the rest, were sentenced to be carried to Magus Muir, where his grace the archbishop of St. Andrews was murdered, on the 18th of November, and there to be hanged till they are dead, and their bodies to be hung in chains until they rot, and all their lands, goods, and gear to fall to his Majesty's use. It does not appear that even one of these men had anything to do with the primate's death.

Meanwhile, Claverhouse with his troops was ravaging and pillaging all throughout the western and south-western districts who might be suspected, even on the flimsiest of pretexts, to have in any way favoured the rising. The indemnity which many had accepted proved of little use, and the so-called third Indulgence, which allowed ministers who had sought the benefit of the indemnity to preach in houses but not in the fields, was not largely taken advantage of, and was soon withdrawn. The soldiers used torture freely, and committed all sorts of atrocities wherever they went. The inhumanity of Claverhouse and Dalziel, and their in-

discriminate harassing of all who were not out and out with them, drove many who had been inclined to moderate courses into the ranks of those who cast off their allegiance to the king, and renounced all attempts at compromise. The most extreme party of the Covenanters recognized the orders of only two ministers, Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron, and came to be known by the name of Cameronians or Society People.

Donald Cargill was at this time a man of about seventy years of age, born in Rattray and educated in Aberdeen and St. Andrews, and afterwards minister of the Barony Church in Glasgow. From the time of the Restoration he lived the life of an outlaw, and was hunted from place to place. He was severely wounded at Bothwell Bridge, and afterwards wandered hither and thither, preaching and encouraging the people to be true to the strictest requirements of the Covenant. On the 3rd June, 1680, he was at Queensferry, along with Henry Hall of Haughhead. Being attacked by the governor of Blackness Castle, Hall was killed and Cargill was seriously wounded, but managed to escape. A document found on the body of Hall, commonly called *The Queensferry Declaration*, renounced allegiance to the Covenant-breaking king, and proposed to set up a republic in place of monarchy, which seemed so readily to lead to tyranny. The Society People never homologated all the expressions used in this paper, and some of the best of them scrupled at the resolve to withdraw from ministers who did not join in the public testimony. Cargill escaped to the south country, and there joined Richard Cameron and others of the party. Cameron, a young man born in Falkland in Fife, had just returned from Holland, where he had enjoyed the teaching of John Brown, and had been ordained by the ministers there. He at once took a prominent part in the councils of the stricter sect of Covenanters. In company with Cargill and Douglas and a little band of twenty men, he entered Sanquhar, in the north-west of Dumfriesshire, on the 22nd of June, 1680, read a paper that they had drawn up, and nailed a copy of it to the market cross.

This document, entitled "The Declaration and Testimony of the True Presbyterian, Anti-Prelatic and Anti-Erastian, and Persecuted Party in Scotland," is usually called *The Sanguhar Declaration*. It renounces allegiance to the king as a perjured tyrant and persecutor, homologates the Rutherglen Declaration, and protests against the reception that had been given in Scotland to the Duke of York, and against the succession of an avowed papist to the throne. Many who have never read these papers denounce them in terms that imply that they are violent programmes of socialists or anarchists, or the intemperate ravings of men whose hardships had driven them mad. As a matter of fact they are comparatively brief and carefully composed statements of principles which prevailed within eight years of their publication, and their sentiments are in no respect wilder than those of the men who accomplished the happy revolution.

The publication of these papers, however, was probably inopportune, and was not approved of by the general body of presbyterians throughout the country. Those, however, who mustered around Cameron and Cargill were truly the heroes of the Covenant, and to them, narrow and bigotted as in some things they undoubtedly were, we owe the liberty, civil and religious, which we enjoy to-day.

Large rewards were now offered for the apprehension of Cargill and Cameron. They were constantly among the peasantry, hid by them in their houses, preaching to them on the moors, but there was no base informer among them willing to enrich himself at the price of blood. They had with them Hackston and Balfour, outlaws on account of the incident of Magus Muir. In little companies they moved about through the more remote and secluded districts, armed for self-defence. Such a company was surprised on the 20th of July, at a place called Airmoss, in the parish of Auchenleck. They were about sixty-five in number, comprising twenty-three horse and a little over forty foot, and including Richard Cameron and his brother Michael, and Hackston of Rathillet. Tidings reached them of the

approach of the enemy, and before they had time to complete their arrangements for fighting, Bruce of Earlshall, with a company more than double theirs in number, was upon them. Hackston took command, and in the first onset a number of the soldiers fell, but the commander's horse was bogged, and he himself dismounted covered with wounds. Those of the Covenanter's force who were on foot were unable to advance upon the horse soldiers, and were saved from attack by the bog, into which the soldiers could not follow. One half of the horsemen of their party were killed, overpowered by superior numbers, and others died of the wounds which they had received. At least twenty-eight of the soldiers were killed. Richard and Michael Cameron were both left dead upon the field. Cameron was heard to pray in view of the battle: "Lord, spare the green and take the ripe." His head and hands were cut off, and sent to Edinburgh to be affixed to prominent places in the city. Hackston, sorely wounded, was carried prisoner to Edinburgh. On the scaffold his right hand was cut off, and, after a considerable pause, his left. He was then hung up by the neck, and while struggling in agony, his breast was cut open and his heart taken out and shown by the executioners as the heart of a traitor. Such barbarities may have struck terror into the minds of some, but in many more, and these the very ones that it was most important to affect, they only awakened horror and hot indignation, that those who were capable of such deeds should be ranked among the rulers of the land.

In the month of October, 1680, Donald Cargill, at a large meeting at Torwood, in Stirlingshire, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the king, the Dukes of York, Monmouth, Lauderdale and Rothes, Dalziel and Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate. This he did on his own responsibility, without concert with any of the other preachers. In July of the following year he was brought before the Council, having been apprehended in the middle of May previous at Covington Mill, by Irvine of Bonshaw. He confessed to having preached at Torwood, but required

that on other matters they should prove what they charged against him. Along with other four men, who acknowledged the justice of the excommunication and refused to own the king's authority, he was sentenced to be hanged on the following day, 27th July, 1681, and to have his head placed on the Nether Bow Port.

Another notable sufferer during this year was James Fraser of Brea, who was born of a good family in Ross-shire. He had been named among the inter-communed in 1675, two years later he was sent to the Bass for preaching at conventicles, and he continued there for two years and a half. In July, 1679, he and certain other ministers were liberated on giving security to appear when called for. During another period of two and a half years he led a wandering life, preaching whenever he had the opportunity, until, in November, 1681, he was again summoned to appear before the Council. He was then charged with continuing to preach, and was sentenced to imprisonment in Blackness Castle. From this prison in about four months' time he was liberated on undertaking to quit the country. While living in London he was apprehended on suspicion of being engaged in a plot, and after an easy imprisonment of six months, he returned to Scotland after the Revolution and became minister of Culross. He is well known to readers of Scottish theology and church history by his Autobiography and a singularly able and interesting treatise on *Justifying or Saving Faith*.

On the 31st of August, 1681, the parliament passed an infamous measure, called *The Test Act*. In this act papists and fanatics were cunningly joined together, and it was resolved that an oath should be sworn by all who should enter upon offices of trust, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, and by all members of parliament, lords of session, bishops, and all preachers of the gospel whatsoever. This oath, which was of great length, required, in the most absolute fashion, the acknowledgement of the king's supremacy in things ecclesiastical as well as civil, and demanded blind submission in all things to the king. The Earl of

Argyll, whose vote had turned the scale in favour of the death rather than the imprisonment of Cargill, now argued strongly against enforcing more oaths, declaring the oath of allegiance already in use abundantly sufficient. The enforcing of this test was keenly opposed by some of the best of the episcopal clergy. Burnet says that eighty of the most learned and pious of the clergy left all rather than take the oath. The most distinguished of these was Lawrence Charteris, a friend of Leighton, whom he resembled in his spirit and in the type of his piety, professor of Divinity in Edinburgh. Argyll scrupled at the taking of the Test except with an explanation that he did so only in so far as it was consistent with itself and with the protestant religion, and that it did not debar him from seeking alterations in a lawful way in church and state. He was accordingly charged with treason, and although ably defended, was found guilty. Sentence was not pronounced until the will of the king should be declared ; but meanwhile, Argyll, fearing the worst, managed to effect his escape to Holland. He was thereupon sentenced to death. In this way one who had wronged his own conscience, and acted contrary to his better judgment in the service of the king, was driven into open rebellion.

Of all the prelates of the Scottish Church the most respectable in regard to religious character was bishop Scougal of Aberdeen. He opposed the enforcing of the Test Act, and secured some mitigation in the form of subscription. He died in 1682, but his very eminent and promising son, Henry Scougal, had already died in 1678 in his twenty-eighth year. The younger Scougal was in character and as an author something like the saintly Leighton, and his *Life of God in the Soul of Man* deserves to rank with the archbishop's Commentary on Peter.

The Test Act had been passed under the influence of the Duke of York, who at this time dominated the government of Scotland. Its enactments were rigorously enforced against Presbyterians, but not against Papists ; and the members of the royal family were expressly excluded from its application.

Unpopular before, his personal presence in Scotland made the duke, detested by many even of the royalist party. He was notoriously harsh and callous. In the torture chamber he continued to sit unmoved, when the writhing agony of the victims of their barbarous cruelty made those who were by no means sensitive or tender hurry away as from a sickening scene of horror. His presence, however, did not terrorise the Cameronians. In the beginning of 1682 a company of these staunch, unflinching presbyterians, numbering fifty armed men, entered Lanark, burned the Test and Succession Acts, and published a new declaration. This declaration, prepared in the end of the previous year enumerates in a calm and dignified manner the acts of tyranny and unconstitutional practices by which Charles had forfeited his right to their allegiance. They had long endured, but matters had now gone beyond endurance. "Is it then any wonder," they proceed to say, "considering such dealings and many thousands more, that true Scotsmen (though we have been always, and even to extremity sometimes, loyal to our kings) should after twenty years' tyranny break out at last, as we have done, and put in practice that power which God and nature hath given us, and we have reserved to ourselves? As our engagements with our princes, having been always conditional as other kingdoms are implicitly, but ours explicitly."

In retaliation for this indignity done to Acts of parliament, the government solemnly and with great pomp burned at the Cross of Edinburgh the Solemn League and Covenant, the Rutherglen and Sanquhar Declarations, Cargill's Covenant, and the Lanark Declaration. Much more serious to the Covenanters were the commissions given to Claverhouse and Dalziel, empowering them to ravage Galloway and the Western Counties.

The Society People had been for sometime without a minister, but in September, 1683, James Renwick returned from Holland and took the place left vacant by the death of Cameron and Cargill. He was then a young man in his twenty-second year, and had previously associated with

those who issued the Lanark Declaration. He had gone to Holland to prosecute his studies at Groningen, and before leaving had been ordained by the presbytery there. On his return to Scotland he was avoided by the other presbyterian ministers, who regarded him as a spreader of schism. About a year afterwards letters of intercommuning were issued against him, and he and his followers were subjected to terrible privations and driven into the remote mountainous parts of the country. On the 5th November, 1684, his party prepared and published a declaration, entitled *The Apologetic Declaration and Admonitory Vindication of the true Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, especially anent Intelligencers and Informers*, in which they claimed the right, according to the principles of the reformers, to execute extraordinary judgments on the murdering beasts of prey who persecuted them.

The Covenanting leaders who suffered during 1684 were for the most part charged with having been in some way or other implicated in the Rye House Plot. The principal victims of tyranny during the year were Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, who was put to death, and William Carstares, who, along with other patriotic Scotsmen, was subjected to torture and to great privations.

The Rev. William Carstares, who was destined to fill so prominent a place in the history of the Revolution, was the son of a very eminent presbyterian minister, born in Cathcart on 11th February, 1649, educated at Edinburgh and afterwards in the theological schools of Holland. At Utrecht he studied under the great Hebraist Leusden and the famous theologian Witsius. As there is no indication anywhere of his having received licence or ordination in Scotland, it is most probable that he received presbyterian orders from the Dutch Church, and in 1681 he obtained a certificate from a company of English and Scottish presbyterian ministers that to their knowledge he was a lawfully ordained minister of the gospel. While at Utrecht, Carstares had been presented to William of Orange, and soon became the intimate and trusted friend of the Prince. The young Scotsman

entered warmly into the plots and schemes of his fellow-exiles. He had gone to London in the autumn of 1674, and was arrested there on suspicion, and in February, 1675, was sent down to Scotland and imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. He was released in July, 1679, and went to England, where, in the neighbourhood of London, he officiated as a presbyterian clergyman. While here he married Miss Kekewich, a Cornish lady, and soon after the marriage, as the position of non-conformists had become precarious, he returned to Holland. We find him again at Utrecht early in 1683, where also Argyll, Stair, Melville, Pringle of Torwoodlee, and several other Scots who could no longer live in Scotland, were gathered. He crossed over to London on the business of the Revolutionists, and was arrested in July of that same year. Soon afterwards he was sent down to Scotland in order that he might be examined under torture, a barbarity which would not be tolerated in England. After an imprisonment of several months, he was brought before the court and subjected to the excruciating torture of the thumbkins. The cruel and unprincipled Earl of Perth, the Lord Chancellor, who had been a presbyterian and had turned episcopalian, and ultimately under James VII. became a Roman Catholic, was enraged at Carstares when he refused to say that he knew anything of designs against the king and his government, and cried out, "Before God, there shall not be a joint of you left whole." After making certain depositions, but withholding all important secrets, he was sent first to Dumbarton and afterwards to Stirling. He was at last set at liberty, and in February, 1684, again returned to Holland.

Robert Baillie of Jerviswood had been in Holland along with Carstares and Argyll. He was apprehended in England in consequence of his name being mentioned in those depositions which led to the execution of Lord William Russel. An attempt was made to obtain a confession from him, on the promise of saving his own life, that might implicate some of the others. "They who can make such a proposal to me," he answered, "know neither me nor my country." He was

brought to Scotland along with Carstares, and on 22nd December, 1685, he was brought before the Council. He was now an old man, bowed down with trouble, greatly aggravated by his rigorous confinement, and had evidently but a few days to live. The Lord Advocate, contrary to promise, made use of Carstares' deposition against the prisoner, and pressed hard for his condemnation. Baillie looked hard at Mackenzie, and reminded his lordship that in prison he had told him that he did not believe him guilty of these things. "Jerviswood," replied the advocate, "I own what you say. My thoughts were then as a private man, but what I say here is by special direction of the Privy Council." Seeing how things stood, Baillie answered—"My lords, I trouble your lordships no further." He was sentenced and executed on the same day, having in his weakness to be assisted up the ladder. He was a man of wide learning and rich culture. He was a true patriot, and firmly attached to the presbyterian cause.

In this same year, 1684, died Archbishop Leighton, who already for ten years had been withdrawn from the tumult and strife which were so abhorrent to his heavenly and peace-loving nature. From his natural constitution and disposition he was altogether unfitted for taking an active part in the affairs of these troubled times. He could only suggest compromises to men who were not in the mood, nor yet, indeed, in the position to accept such expedients. He was not understood in his own day. There were few, if any, of those about him capable of appreciating what was best in him. Men of his own party who had no personal saintliness of their own, were willing to make use of his piety for their own party ends. The Covenanters, not unnaturally, looked askance at one who allowed himself to be mixed up with the proceedings of such a godless and faithless crew.

Charles II. died on the 6th February, 1685. He is almost universally acknowledged to have been one of the very worst kings that ever reigned in England. He was in the pay of France and sold Dunkirk for money, and was willing to subject his country to any indignity, if only no

restrictions were put upon his expensive pleasures. During his reign he was nominally a protestant, but on his death-bed he sought reconciliation with Rome, to whose church he had always belonged, if this can be said of a man who never had any religion. The accession of James VII., a professed papist, only led to a more open and direct persecution of the same persons as had suffered under the previous reign. The papists, who before had been secretly encouraged, were now promoted to office in the church and in the universities.

Among those who had taken active steps toward the overthrow of the reigning prince, and especially toward the prevention of the succession of the Duke of York, the most distinguished, alike in respect of rank and of devotion to the cause, was the Earl of Argyll. He and the Duke of Monmouth arranged together their ill-starred enterprise, and Argyll, who had been in Holland since his escape from Edinburgh, sailed for Scotland on 1st May, 1685. The whole plan miscarried. Monmouth delayed too long his descent on England, and when Argyll reached Scotland he was disappointed by many on whom he had counted refusing to join him, and some even treacherously giving information to the government. At last, after a series of disasters, Argyll was caught in Renfrewshire, seeking to escape in disguise to his own country. He was brought to Edinburgh, but it was resolved that he should die in fulfilment of the old sentence that had been passed upon him, and not on the charge of invading the king's territory. The Cameronians had not joined him, remembering how he and others of the officers associated with him had aided in the persecution. He was beheaded on 30th June, 1685. His bearing on the scaffold was that of a good and brave man, and a true Christian. He said: "I die not only a true Protestant, but with a heart hatred of Popery, Prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever.

Throughout the districts most largely frequented by the hunted Cameronians, Claverhouse, with other cruel monsters like Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, carried on their work

of brutal outrage on the weak and unprotected. The story of John Brown of Priesthill is one that will be always remembered and often told to the infamy of Claverhouse. Nothing was charged against this honest countryman but his failure to attend the curate's preaching and his sheltering of intercommuned ministers and other homeless wanderers. Early one morning in May, 1685, Claverhouse and his troops suddenly swooped down upon his house. The man was already at work on the hill, but was soon brought home. After the usual questions had been put, the merciless captain of dragoons told him to prepare to die. After prayer he took farewell of his wife and children. The six soldiers who had been ordered to fire refused. Rough as they were and inured to scenes of blood, this was too much for them. With his own hand, then, Claverhouse shot him down, and turning to the weeping wife, asked, in cruel mockery, "What thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?" "How wilt thou answer," she said, "for this morning's work?" "To man I can be answerable," he replied, "and as for God, I will take him in my own hand."

During this same month another piece of hideous cruelty was enacted, one that appeals peculiarly to popular sympathy, because the victims were women. The children of a farmer called Wilson, living near Wigtown, who with his wife had regularly attended the curate's services, objected to follow the course taken by their parents, and were obliged to leave their home and join the persecuted Covenanters in the mountains. Margaret, the eldest of them, was only eighteen years of age. Venturing into Wigtown, she was staying with a pious old woman, Margaret M'Lauchlan, when both women were informed upon, and were brought before Lagg for trial. They were charged with having been at conventicles, and when the proof failed they were required to take the abjuration oath. On refusing to do so, they were sentenced to death by drowning in the Blednoch river. The older woman was tied to a stake nearer the advancing tide than that to which Margaret Wilson was bound. Undeterred by the sight of her friend's dying

struggle, the young woman persisted in her Christian confession. She still refused to take the oath, and calmly waited till the advancing waters rose over her head.*

A large number of those who had been captured by Claverhouse and other persecutors on their refusal to join the royalist party or to recognise the authority of James VII., were in the Edinburgh jails, and in order to make room for the convicts caught in Argyll's rebellion, were sent for safe keeping and rigorous treatment to Dunnottar Castle, on the Kincardine coast, near Stonehaven. On the 24th of May, about one hundred and seventy men and women, after a weary journey on foot from Edinburgh, were thrust down together into a narrow and loathsome dungeon, the mire ankle deep upon the floor and light admitted only from a small window high up in the wall. Food of a very inferior quality was sold to them at most exorbitant rates. On the 30th of July, those who persisted in refusing to take the oath, were banished to the plantations. In their voyage to New Jersey they endured dreadful sufferings, and many died at sea, but those who reached their destination were kindly treated, the magistrates giving them their liberty so that in better times some returned to their native land. Among

* The stories of John Brown and the Wigtown martyrs are no longer disputed by any respectable or trustworthy historian. Recent writers of all schools join in testifying to the accuracy and fairness of Wodrow's *History*. Mr. Grub almost forfeits his claim to be regarded as a capable and reliable historian by his note on pp. 281 and 282 of Vol. III. of his work, in which he seeks to belittle both stories on the utterly worthless authority of Mr. Aytoun and Mr. Mark Napier. Principal Story's admirable note on Mark Napier's *Case for the Crown* (against the truth of the Wigtown story, admirably and conclusively answered by Dr. Stewart of Glasserton) is well worth quoting. "Any student, anxious to catch a last glimpse of all the ugliest features of Scotch Jacobitism and Episcopacy, should nerve himself to read Mr. Mark Napier, although the bluntness of moral discernment, the unconscious brutality of sentiment, and the elaborate friskiness of style, are very trying to one's patience."—*William Carstairs*. London, 1874, p. 146.

these was the Rev. John Fraser of Alness, the father of the well-known author of *A Treatise on Sanctification*.

Early in 1686 Alexander Peden died, one of the most remarkable and interesting characters among the later Covenanters. An Ayrshire man, he had been ordained shortly before the Restoration at Glenluce in Galloway, and after suffering much persecution for holding conventicles and baptizing children in other parishes, he was outlawed in 1667, and after spending some time in Ireland he returned to Scotland, and having been arrested in 1673, was sent to the Bass. In 1678 he was sentenced to be banished, but when he reached London, he and his fellow prisoners were set at liberty. He again spent a considerable time in Ireland, and returning to Scotland in 1685, he had many wonderful deliverances from the enemy that hunted him ceaselessly from place to place. The story of Peden as given in the *Scots Worthies* is full of his prophecies and remarkable providences. He was undoubtedly a far-seeing, observant man, but there is evidently much exaggeration and superstition in the popular record of his life.

The king now sought to secure advantage to the Roman Catholics by repealing the penal laws against them. This was strongly opposed as contrary to the constitution. The majority of the bishops were against it, and the council only promised to consider the matter. The king then of his own authority abrogated the persecuting laws against non-conformists on condition that the ministers then relieved would preach loyal doctrines. This toleration of presbyterians by a popish prince was evidently granted only as a temporary measure in order to secure liberty to papists, and would, no doubt, when convenient, be just as arbitrarily withdrawn. The Cameronians were not deceived by this manœuvre, and continued their field conventicles in defiance of the government. They would not undertake to preach loyal doctrines, nor be dictated to in any way by the state as to what doctrines they should preach. James Renwick continued to be their preacher. He drew up a Testimony to a Covenanted Reformation and in defence of continuing

to preach in the fields and against anti-christian toleration. This was published on the 17th January, 1688. He was arrested in Edinburgh on 31st January and charged with preaching against the payment of the cess. He was at last charged with disowning the king's authority, the lawfulness of paying the cess and the unlawfulness of carrying arms. He was sentenced to death, and on 17th February he was hanged at the Grassmarket, the last victim in this country called to seal his testimony to his religious convictions with his blood. Alexander Shields, who had been in Holland, returned and continued the work of Renwick as preacher among the Societies, and was assisted by two young ministers, Lining and Boyd. Persecution continued more or less severe, but relief was at hand, and before the end of the year William, Prince of Orange, had landed at Torbay, and the government of the tyrant and persecutor was overthrown.

CHAPTER VIII.

*The Church of the Revolution.**

1688—1712.

THE relief afforded to all those in England and Scotland who had been persecuted on account of their political and religious opinions under the crushing tyranny of the past eight-and-twenty years was instantaneous and complete. Those who had been the tools of the despot either dropped entirely out of view, or with chameleon-like agility assumed a form befitting the changed circumstances of the age. So far as Scotland was concerned, the most brutally violent measures of the government had failed to secure for prelacy a place in the hearts of the people. As Macaulay puts it, the logical process of torture by the boot had failed to teach the doctrine of apostolical succession and ordination, and the edifying divinity lectures of the Grassmarket failed to recommend the principles of episcopacy. The historian describes the contest between the Scottish nation and the Anglican Church as thirty years of the most frightful misgovernment ever seen in any part of Great Britain. "If

* Literature :—Burnet, *History of his own Times*, London, 1883 (1724); Story, *William Carstares: a Character and Career of the Revolutionary Epoch (1649-1715)*, London, 1874; Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland: its Origin and History, 1680-1876*, Paisley, 1893, pp. 81-172; Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs (1678-1714)*, 6 vols., London, 1857; Macaulay, *History of England*, London, 1849; Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, Edin., 1861, Vol. III., pp. 293-371; M'Crrie, *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland*, Edin., 1892, pp. 241-275.

the Revolution," he continues,* "had produced no other effect than that of freeing the Scotch from the yoke of an establishment which they detested, and giving them one to which they were attached, it would have been one of the happiest events in our history."

Naturally there was a tendency throughout Scotland on the part of those who had been oppressed to a somewhat violent overthrow of what they regarded as the monuments of idolatry. In Glasgow the effigies of the pope and of the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow were burned, and in Edinburgh images in a popish chapel were destroyed. The Earl of Perth and some others who had become specially obnoxious were roughly treated, and made their escape with some difficulty. Some of the prelatical clergy were reduced to poverty, and had to obtain relief for themselves and their families by charity. The rabbling of the curates, especially in the districts in which their presence had long been the occasion of bitter resentment, was sometimes carried out rather ruthlessly, and of necessity often entailed considerable suffering. Hill Burton, however, admits that the presbyterians were signally moderate in their treatment of the enemy at their feet. "The curates," he says,† "were no doubt rabbled, and this was an unpleasant ordeal to those who had been accustomed to hunt the rabble." It is highly creditable to the presbyterians that in their hour of triumph, even the most extreme among them, and those who had suffered intolerable cruelties and had long been treated as outcasts and outlaws, did in so few cases inflict more suffering on their enemies than was inevitable, and that they did in no case proceed to the extremity that was so easily within their power.

William, though bred a presbyterian, was what was then called a latitudinarian. In doctrinal belief he was

* Essay on Sir James Macintosh's *History of the Revolution*, in one Vol. ed., London, 1883, p. 341.

† *History of the British Empire during the reign of Queen Anne*, Edin. 1880, Vol. I., p. 100.

Calvinistic, to the extent at least of being a firm believer in predestination; but in regard to forms of church government, his choice of one rather than another was determined wholly by expediency. On arriving in England, he at once saw that episcopacy was in the ascendancy there, and at once he recognised the church of the bishops as the Established Church of England. In regard to Scotland he had been assured by his trusted friend Carstairs that presbyterianism was in the ascendant, and was enthusiastically supported by the great mass of the people. There were those, however, now around him who told him that the presbyterians were mainly of the lower ranks, and that the noblemen and county gentlemen were for the most part in favour of episcopacy. Probably also a desire for securing uniformity in the ecclesiastical constitution of the two kingdoms, inclined the new king to consider favourably the idea of establishing episcopacy in Scotland, if that could be done without weakening his civil government. He therefore gave an audience to Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, to see how far he could trust the prelates and the church they represented to act the part of loyal supporters of his rule and active promoters of his interests in the country. He knew that he had the presbyterians, and that there was no one else to whom they could turn, and if now he could secure the detachment of the episcopalians from the cause of the late monarch, he would have undivided and undisputed authority throughout his whole dominions. Bishop Rose, however, like most of his party, was a devoted Jacobite, and so he could only promise to help the king "so far as law, reason, or conscience" should allow him. The king at once saw that this meant a refusal of allegiance, and immediately turned away without saying a word.

The Convention of the Estates met in Edinburgh on the 14th of March, 1689, and was attended by many of the prelates and a large number of the royalist nobles. Some of the supporters of James, feeling that they were the representatives of a lost cause, soon ceased their attendance, and the Duke of Hamilton, who was elected president, had

a thoroughly sufficient majority to support the claims and advance the interests of the Prince of Orange. On the 11th of April, the crown, which had been previously declared to have been forfeited by James, was offered to William and Mary. In the Claim of Rights, which was then drawn up, it was declared that "prelacy and superiority of any office in the church above presbyters is, and hath been, a great and unsupportable grievance and trouble to this nation and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation, they having been reformed from popery by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished." To this Claim the sovereigns did not formally bind themselves, but they took the coronation oath, according to which they promised to maintain the true religion then received in Scotland. The presbyterian interests were meanwhile carefully attended to by Carstares. William was now more than ever convinced that his Scottish chaplain was not only sagacious but also thoroughly well informed, and the direction of Scottish affairs was henceforth practically in the hands of this presbyterian clergyman. From him William learned that the Scottish prelates were determined Jacobites, and that their following, though considerable in the north, was exceedingly small and uninfluential in all the district south of the Tay.

When it was found that the parliament of Scotland had a decided majority in favour of the new king and the revolution, Claverhouse, or Dundee, as he was now called, after he had failed to induce the royalist members to constitute a rival convention, retired from the meeting, and went to the north to raise the Highland clans to fight on behalf of the fugitive king. On the other hand the Cameronians, who were out and out opponents of the late king, found considerable difficulty in acquiescing in the movement for the recognition of the claims of William. They were bitterly opposed to Claverhouse, so that this man, so recently the proud and all-powerful persecutor, found it necessary to apply to the Council for protection from the Westland Whigs now boldly marching up and down through

the streets of Edinburgh. This protection was refused, and the Viscount rushed precipitately away to the mountain fastnesses of the north. Meantime, the Cameronians gave in a conditional adhesion to the cause of William. They persisted in requiring that their king should sign the Covenant and should undertake to secure and promote the establishment of covenanted religion in the land. It was evident that William would not be persuaded to bind himself under any such obligations. But the country had to face the danger of an onslaught by Claverhouse and his wild Highland clansmen. The ruthless atrocities of the Highland Host were vividly present to the minds of the Covenanters of the West. They were anxious to do something in the way of meeting the threatened attack. But how could they serve under General Mackay, who had been appointed commander-in-chief, and under his officers, whose principles they did not know? At last, William Clelland, who had fought at Bothwell Bridge, and was recognised as a brave and skillful officer, and a faithful son of the Covenant, undertook to raise a regiment from among the members of the party to which he belonged. His task was indeed a difficult one. The Cameronians met in Douglas on the 29th April, and resolved that they could have no fellowship in the army with malignants, as this would be a sinful association. Shields, their minister, however, preached on the text: "Curse ye, Meroz; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." It was afterwards resolved that under certain conditions they might, in present circumstances, accept military service. Extraordinarily stringent rules were laid down as to the character and principles of those who alone could be admitted to the regiment. They were to have the choice of their own officers, arrangements were to be made for daily service under their own minister, an elder was to be in each company, and many other such minute and exact enactments were proposed. Clelland declared that enlistment hampered in this way and the enforcement of hard

and fast regulations like these would make military discipline impossible. At last it was agreed that the making of a declaration against popery, prelacy, and arbitrary power would suffice. A paper containing such a declaration was read by Clelland to company after company, and solemnly sworn to by the men. Thus was formed the famous Cameronian Regiment, now the Twenty-Sixth, in which Clelland was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and Alexander Shields, Chaplain.

General Mackay, leading William's army, met the Highlanders, under Dundee, at the Pass of Killiecrankie on 27th June, 1689, and though the king's army was defeated, the rebel leader was slain, and with his death the best hopes of the Jacobite party perished. The Cameronian regiment, unpopular with those who had previously cherished any Jacobite sympathies, and also with many of the military officials, whose lukewarmness in the cause of religion they had very boldly reprov'd, was now sent on to Dunkeld, with reduced numbers and with scanty provisions and ammunition. It was evidently the hope of some treacherous managers to bring about the annihilation of that brave company. The regiment numbered now not more than seven hundred men. When attacked by Captain Cannon, who had taken Dundee's command, and who was at the head of four thousand men, the Cameronians sheltered themselves among the houses, and when their bullets were spent, they made more from lead stripped from the roofs of the buildings. The fight continued with terrific fury for sixteen hours, and ended in the complete rout of the rebel army. The Cameronians sang psalms of praise, and offered thanksgivings to the Lord of Hosts who had given them the victory. The hour of rejoicing was saddened by the loss of their brave commander. Colonel Clelland, at the early age of eight-and-twenty, had fallen under two mortal wounds as he was encouraging his men in the battle amid the houses of Dunkeld.

The rebellion in arms, so far as Scotland was concerned, was now at an end, and opposition to the king and to the

establishment of presbyterianism was henceforth confined to diplomatic manœuvres and court intrigues.

The Scottish parliament met in April, 1670, in order to determine the constitution of the Church of Scotland. Under the presidency of Lord Melville, it repealed the Act of 1669, which had declared the king's supremacy in matters civil and ecclesiastical, restored their parishes to those ministers who had been ejected in 1661, and removed the present incumbents, while those thus removed, who agreed to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, were appointed to other vacancies. There was still a remnant of some sixty surviving the twenty-eight years of episcopal occupation, and not only were these at once received, but also all those who had been licensed and ordained by them. At a later session, and after some hesitation, the Westminster Confession of Faith was accepted as the standard of doctrinal belief in the church, and the presbyterian form of church government and discipline was approved and adopted in accordance with the legislation of 1592. The question of patronage was reserved for future settlement. A General Assembly was summoned to meet in October for the settlement of kirks and the general regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. All holding office in universities, colleges, and schools were to be required to subscribe the Confession of Faith, and to take the oath of allegiance, and a commission of visitation was empowered to deprive of office those who refused to submit to these conditions. When at last the question of patronage was taken up, it was resolved, on payment of a certain compensation, to deprive patrons of their power, and give the right of election to the elders and all heritors, being protestants, with the approval of the congregation; and in case of the congregation disapproving the person nominated, the presbytery must consider the grounds given for disapproval, and finally decide the matter. In royal burghs the election was to be vested in the magistrates, town council, and kirk-session. The Cameronians, and not only they, but also many of those who had been hearty supporters of the revolution, regretted that no men-

tion was made in the settlement of the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant.

The General Assembly of October, 1690, was the first that had been held since the violent dismissal, by order of Cromwell, of the Assembly of 1653. Hugh Kennedy, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was moderator, and three Cameronian ministers, Shields, Lining, and Boyd, were received and recognised as ministers of the Church of Scotland. The members of the Societies, however, to which these ministers had belonged, refused in large numbers to go with them, because the Assembly rejected the memorial which they had addressed to it, and showed a determination to avoid as far as possible discussion of matters which might cause division or prevent the inclusion of different parties. The more rigid Covenanters had as their leader Sir Robert Hamilton, whose obstinacy and wrongheadedness at Bothwell and elsewhere were still remembered with bitterness by all moderate and level-headed men. In the endeavour, after a wide and generous comprehension, all the decisions came to by Resolutioners and Protesters against one another were rescinded, and it was hoped that all genuine presbyterians, on the basis of their common presbyterianism, might be brought together under a workable and harmonious union. The petition of the Societies to the Assembly, which practically insisted that compliances such as most of its members had made should be enumerated among the sins to be confessed and lamented at an appointed Fast, was rejected, since it would of necessity prevent many from joining the church, and would seriously endanger its establishment under William's government. Notwithstanding every effort to satisfy them, the Societies pronounced the Causes of the Fast stated by the Assembly lame and defective. They were even offered an opportunity of easing their conscience by handing in a protest to the session of the congregation or the presbytery of the bounds, so that their joining would not imply their approval of what they condemned. But there were some who objected to this reasonable and conciliatory proposal. Headed by Hamilton, they disowned the Revolu-

tion government, and persistently maintained that they could recognise no prince except on the basis of the Covenant. Hence the repudiation of William's government and the refusal to pay taxes, the payment of which involved recognition of his royal authority, were made essential terms of membership in the Societies.

Of the three ministers who refused to take up this extreme position, Lining and Boyd became ministers of the revolution church in Lesmahagow and Dalry, in Galloway, respectively, and Shields, after continuing for a time to hold the chaplaincy of the Cameronian regiment, became one of the ministers of St. Andrews. Alexander Shields was one of the very ablest of the ministers in Scotland at this time. He had been licensed and ordained by the presbyterians in London, where he had acted as amanuensis to the famous John Owen. He afterwards suffered imprisonment in London and in Edinburgh, and in 1686 he joined Renwick, and laboured with him among the Society people. Besides assisting in drawing up the *Informatory Vindication*, he wrote, while in Holland, a large work in justification of the contendings of his party, well known under the title of *The Hind Let Loose*. In a work on Church Communion, posthumously published by Lining, Shields vindicated his conduct in joining the revolution church. In 1699 he was sent out to Darien as one of the chaplains to that unfortunate expedition, and, after a disappointing and seemingly fruitless ministry among a worldly and godless set of people, he died at Jamaica in June, 1700.

Meantime the attitude of the Societies was uncompromising to the utmost degree. Even in regard to marriages, no recourse was to be had to civil authorities, and there was no minister recognised as qualified to perform the ceremony. Efforts to secure a regular ministry failed. Mr. Hepburn of Urr was deposed for his sympathy with the principles of the Cameronians, but he was not prepared to acquiesce in the renunciation of allegiance to the revolution government. The Dutch church might have trained students for their ministry, but it was now largely in

sympathy with the established church. The members of this most exclusive party were tightly bound by a document drawn up by Hamilton, usually called *The Tinwald Paper*, in which the procedure, civil and ecclesiastical, since the revolution, was contrasted with that of earlier times, and the most rigid views maintained in earlier testimonies were extended and enforced as affording the necessary basis of membership in the Societies.

The inclusion, as far as possible, of the episcopalians within the Church of Scotland was an idea that was never lost sight of by William. In order to accomplish this the government made repeated representations to the Assembly urging the reception of all who in the most general way would express their readiness to conform. The most earnest presbyterians, on the other hand, were afraid lest large numbers of the old episcopal clergy should tender a nominal submission, only that they might have the power from within to dominate the counsels of the church, and ultimately reintroduce episcopacy. Accordingly, the commission appointed to deal with the several parishes and their ministers proceeded in a manner that was by no means acceptable to the king. Expostulations from the court had no effect, and the commission continued to reject all ministers and university professors who failed to take the oath of allegiance, to subscribe to the Confession of Faith, and to submit to the presbyterian government of the church. William still thought that by including within the church all who would consent to do so on conditions of the vaguest and most general sort, he could win a large number of waverers, and secure his position throughout the whole country. When the Assembly's Commission proved stubborn, the king postponed the meeting of Assembly from the 1st of November, 1691, to the 15th of January, 1692. When at last it met, the king's commissioner produced a schedule containing a formula and declaration for admission of episcopal ministers, requiring only concurrence with the presbyterian government and subscription of the Confession. Applications for admission were made, but

only one applicant was received. The chief officers of state, who were true presbyterians, were dismissed, and their places taken by men who had been Jacobites and persecutors. After the Assembly had sat for about a month without making any considerable progress, the Commissioner dissolved it in the king's name, without appointing a day for its next meeting, merely intimating that the king would give notice when another Assembly should be called. The moderator thereupon named the third Wednesday of August, 1693, as the day to which the Assembly was adjourned. To save the dignity of the crown, and at the same time avoid a collision with the church, which was more than the king could venture upon, a day was fixed for the meeting of the Assembly, not the same as that fixed by itself, but not far removed from it.

In consequence of the spread of Jacobite disaffection and the unpopularity of William in the north, which had been considerably aggravated by the atrocity of the Glencoe massacre, it was resolved by parliament to add to the oath of allegiance what is usually called the oath of assurance, which declared William king not only *de facto* but also *de jure*. Naturally enough, the Jacobite episcopal clergy, who might have acquiesced in the government of William as an accomplished fact, scrupled to homologate the principle on which it was established. But even the presbyterians rose against the imposition of this oath. The Commissioner, when he arrived in Edinburgh in order to preside at the Assembly summoned to meet on the 29th March, 1694, found that the ministers, who petitioned to be relieved of this oath, were as determined as ever to refuse it. He accordingly sent a special message to the king showing him how matters stood, and asking for instructions. Under the evil influence of Tarbet and Stair, the king had despatches prepared insisting that the oath must be taken. Carstares had been absent from court and only returned that evening to find letters from the Scottish presbyterian ministers waiting him, in which the critical state of matters was laid before him, and to learn that the despatches had already

been handed to the messenger, who was on the eve of returning to Scotland. He immediately sought out the messenger and demanded from him, in the king's name, the despatches with which he had been entrusted. Carrying these documents in his hand, he made his way to the royal apartments, but already the king had retired to rest. Going into the royal bed chamber, he found the king asleep in bed. He knelt down and awakened the king, and presented a humble supplication for his life. William looked in utter astonishment at his chaplain and trusted counsellor, wondering what offence worthy of death he could possibly have committed. When Carstares told him what he had done, the king frowned severely, and showed signs of violent resentment; but knowing his friend so well, he listened to the explanation which he made. As Carstares showed him that the presbyterians in Scotland were his most reliable supporters, and that now, by the imposition of this oath, those who were not well-wishers of his government hoped to cement episcopalians and presbyterians in a common bond of union against the interests of the king. His majesty gave careful attention to Carstares' statement, and when his adviser had done speaking, he told him to throw the despatches which he had in his hand into the fire and to prepare others in such form as he thought best in the circumstances. Carstares accordingly prepared a paper, which the king signed, dispensing with the oath. The messenger reached Edinburgh on the morning of the day on which the Assembly met, and to the joy of all, it was found that the king had given way, and that the threatened rupture was avoided.

The principal difficulties which the church courts encountered at this period were connected with the supply of presbyterian ministers for vacant churches and with the settling of ministers in places where episcopacy was still in power. Especially in the north resistance was frequently offered, when those commissioned by the Assembly sought to dislodge the old episcopalian clergy whose claims were supported by mobs from other districts led and encouraged by local gentlemen

and landowners. But a further trouble threatened from the spread of sceptical views and deistical opinions in different parts of the country. Attention was called to this danger in the Assembly of 1695. It would seem that there had been cause for anxiety, and faithfulness to the cause of evangelical truth demanded that some warning should be given, and that some enquiry should be made. In one unhappy case recourse was had to extreme measures, and a persistent severity shown which reflects very seriously upon the Christian character and temper of the leading churchmen of the day. A young man, Thomas Aikenhead, a student at the university, was, by the direction of the Privy Council, charged before the Court of Session with using unbecoming and blasphemous language and scoffing at holy scripture. He sought to prevent the case coming to trial by presenting a petition representing his youth and inexperience, he was only twenty-one years of age, declaring that there were exaggerations of statement in the charge against him, and renouncing the errors into which he had fallen. The petition was rejected, and the trial proceeded, with the result that he was unanimously declared guilty, and sentenced to death. He now besought delay in the execution of the sentence, that he might be better prepared for his end. It is said that the Council was inclined to listen to this pathetic and reasonable request, but that the ministers, instead of interceding on his behalf, were for the most part opposed to delay. The poor lad was accordingly executed on the day appointed. Such conduct on the part of the ministers may be perhaps explained by the supposition that they had been seized with a foolish panic and that they dreaded lest the floodgates were being opened and that the country was about to be swept with a deluge of infidelity and godlessness. But neither this nor anything else can be an excuse for the callousness of their proceeding.

An important measure, known as the Barrier Act, was passed by the Assembly of 1697. It enacts that before any law is passed that will affect the whole church, it must be sent down by the Assembly to presbyteries in the form of an over-

ture for their opinion, so that every presbytery may have an opportunity of reporting to the next Assembly either in approval or in disapproval of the proposal, and that it can be passed by the Assembly into law only if it has received the approbation of a majority of presbyteries. This check upon hasty legislation on the part of the supreme court must be recognised as a very desirable arrangement in view of the fact that the composition of any one Assembly may be such, that a measure originating in it, and finally disposed of by it, may not at all be in accordance with the general sentiment of the church.

The cases with which General Assemblies hitherto had to deal turned for the most part on the question of church government and discipline, and on doctrinal matters only in a secondary degree. It was not till 1751 that the Assembly was called to deal with a charge against one of the ministers of the church of a purely doctrinal kind. In that year Mr. George Garden, formerly of St. Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen, was charged with being the author of a book entitled *An Apology for Madame Antonia Bourignon*, which the Assembly condemned. The previous Assembly had questioned him about the authorship, which he did not disown, and about the works which it reviewed, for which he expressed his profound admiration. The lady, whose writings and opinions have long passed out of public view, had died only some twenty years before her Scottish disciple was brought into trouble on her account. Her works, which were eloquently written, related visions and revelations which she professed to have had, and set forth a system of religious mysticism. She condemned all outward rites and made religion consist wholly in inward and spiritual processes. Dr. Garden failed to appear to answer to the charge, and was deposed for contumacy and for the entertaining of erroneous opinions. He seems to have been wearied with the controversies of the age, and to have sought refuge in the quiet contemplativeness so much commended in this dreamy and mystical system, in which unfortunately many serious heresies were also concealed.

The death of King William on the 8th of March, 1702, in his fifty-second year, after a brief reign of thirteen years, raised for a little while the hopes of the Jacobites, and encouraged the episcopalians, who thought that the new government might prove more favourable to their party. Queen Anne, sister to the late Queen Mary and daughter of the deceased exiled King James, as the next heir in the protestant succession entered on the unquestioned and undisturbed possession of the throne. It was well known that she strongly favoured episcopacy as established in the church of England. In her first letter to the Scottish parliament, she called attention to the importance of the negotiations in favour of the union of the two kingdoms, which William, if he had been spared, would certainly have insisted on carrying out. The parliament appointed commissioners with powers to treat for the union as advantageous for the defence of the true protestant religion and for the establishment of the peace and safety of both kingdoms. A dispute soon arose in reference to the proposal to pass an act for protecting the protestant succession by abjuring the so-called Prince of Wales, son of the late exiled King James VII. Owing to threatened opposition, this proposal was not put to the vote and the parliament adjourned. The commissioners of both kingdoms for treating of the union met at Whitehall in November, 1702, and continued their sittings till February, 1703. They unanimously agreed that the succession to the throne should be in the family of Sophia, electress of Hanover, being protestants. The Scottish parliament met on the 6th of May, 1703, Lords and Commons sitting together, and the members were required to vote in regard to the union by a simple yea or nay. Meantime, in consequence of a cry that had been raised that the church was in danger, an act was passed, after considerable discussion, ratifying, establishing and confirming presbyterian church government and discipline by kirk sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods and general assemblies, as agreeable to the Word of God, and the only government of Christ's church within the kingdom ; while another denounced as high treason any

attempt to alter the Claim of Right. Several plots were hatched by various parties opposed for some reason or other to the projected union, the details of which are of interest only to the civil historian. After all the difficulties thus thrown in the way of the movement had been got rid of, the union was at last consummated and came into operation on the 1st of May, 1707. For a considerable time the union was unpopular in Scotland and was regarded by the people as unfavourable to their independence. The Jacobites, as might have been expected, opposed it, as frustrating their cherished design of restoring the succession to the male line of descent from the Stewart kings. The Cameronians, and to some extent even the more moderate presbyterians, feared that the closer relations with England which it occasioned would increase the influence of the prelati form of church government as established in the sister country.

In 1701, the Rev. John M'Millan was ordained minister of Balmaghie in Kirkcudbrightshire. Himself a Galloway man, and then in his thirty-second year, he was already mature in his convictions, and with strong evangelical sympathies, he soon secured a powerful influence in his parish and throughout the surrounding district. He had been for a time during his undergraduate course connected with the Societies. On the occasion of the accession of Queen Anne, he scrupled about the imposition of the oath. Along with two of his brethren, Mr. M'Millan appeared before his presbytery with a list of grievances, in which the defects in the Revolution Settlement objected to by the Societies was insisted upon, the overlooking of the attainments of the Second Reformation, the ignoring of the Solemn League and Covenant, submitting to state interference in regard to the constitution of the church, and the imposition on the ministry of political oaths. The only notice which the presbytery took of the petition was a vindication of the procedure of the church on all the questions referred to. Soon after this Mr. M'Millan, feeling himself out of sympathy with the presbytery, ceased to attend its meetings, and though he was afterwards persuaded to resume attendance, his pulpit

utterances against the defections of the church led to his being served with a libel. In this document he is charged with failing to keep his promise to abstain from agitating troublesome questions. The presbytery, finding proof difficult, offered to drop the libel if he would promise submission. At last Mr. M'Millan declined the authority of the presbytery, and appealed to the first free and lawfully constituted General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The presbytery found the libel proven, and proceeded to depose Mr. M'Millan. Two of his chief opponents were men originally belonging to the Societies—Alexander Cameron, minister of Kirkcudbright, brother of Richard Cameron, the famous covenanter who fell at Airmoss, and Mr. Boyd of Dalry, who had joined the Revolution church with Mr. Lining and Mr. Shields. The people of Balmaghie were enthusiastically attached to their minister. They refused to allow the representative of the presbytery to intimate the sentence of that court, and Mr. M'Millan continued to occupy his old pulpit. Before the Commission of Assembly in Edinburgh on the 9th of June, 1704, he acknowledged his fault in refusing submission to the sentence of a regular church judicatory, and promised to maintain unity and concord in accordance with presbyterian principles. Subsequently he made a similar confession, accompanied with a supplication to the presbytery to be restored to his ministerial charge. In his appeal to the Assembly of 1705, however, he declares his sentence unjust and not to be submitted to, and states his determination to resume preaching. For three years, in defiance of the law, his parishioners refused admission to ministers appointed to preach, and during that time they kept Mr. M'Millan in possession of church and manse.

Mr. Hepburn of Urr, who had been deposed in 1696, because of views similar to those of Mr. M'Millan, itinerated as a gospel preacher through several parishes, and formed societies, after the model of those of the Cameronians. He did not disown the civil government, nor proclaim any separation from the church. These two deposed

ministers corresponded with one another, but failed to find a common ground for union or co-operation. Probably Mr. M'Millan was from the first more in sympathy with the Cameronian separatists than Mr. Hepburn was ever inclined to be.

An attempt was made by Mr. M'Millan as early as 1704 to obtain a conference with the Society people, and soon after he was present at the General Meeting, and having expressed his regret for his submission, he declared himself willing to join their party. Repeated conferences were held, but his testimony was pronounced unsatisfactory, as he scrupled about their views regarding the civil magistrate. On this point, however, he at last gave in, and after protracted negotiations his testimony was accepted as satisfactory on the 18th of August, 1706. He then received what was designated a joint call, and from that day forward he continued to travel up and down through the country, preaching and baptising children among the societies, which from the Revolution up to that time had no ordained minister to dispense the sacrament among them.

Since the union of the kingdoms had become an accomplished fact, Englishmen resident in Edinburgh who were members of the Established Church of England naturally enough wished to have services instituted similar to those which they had been accustomed to in their own country. This privilege they felt they might enjoy without associating themselves with the Scottish episcopalians, who lay under disabilities because of their having been so largely mixed up with Jacobite plots and disloyal associations. In 1709 one James Greenshields, encouraged probably by English residents, but without any recognition by the Scottish episcopal bishop, opened a chapel in the Canon-gate, and conducted services, in which the Church of England ritual was used. After he had been driven by the Magistrates from one meeting place to another, he was summoned by the presbytery, and though he denied the jurisdiction of the court, he was found guilty of exercising an unlicensed ministry within their bounds contrary to the

uniformity of worship established by law. The magistrates were called upon to see that he ceased from holding these services, and on his refusing to do so he was committed to prison. On appeal the Court of Session sustained the proceedings of presbytery and magistrates on the ground that having been ordained by a deprived bishop, Greenshields' ordination was not valid. This was a position as unsatisfactory to presbyterians as to episcopalians, for the deprivation which was said to make his ordination invalid had been carried out not by the church courts but by the parliament. When the case came before the House of Lords, the Tory Government had just entered upon office, and although the ministers of the Crown would gladly have avoided giving offence, and wished to have the case withdrawn, yet when pressed for a judgment they were obliged to overturn the Scottish sentence, and give a decision in favour of toleration. From the standpoint of modern times the decision was right, but the raising of the question just then was unfortunate politically and ecclesiastically, and it would have been much the wiser course for the presbytery to have taken no notice of Greenshields' services which, if they had been left to be judged of on their own merits, would have received no mention on the page of history.

The immediate result of the decision in the Greenshields case was the introduction of a bill into the House of Commons to secure toleration for episcopalians in Scotland. The Act of Toleration was passed in March, 1712. It secured to episcopalians in Scotland the right of exercising worship after their own manner and by pastors ordained by a protestant bishop, not established ministers of a church or parish, who might use if they pleased the Liturgy of the Church of England. It required, however, that such ministers should take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and pray for the Queen and the Hanoverian princes. The presbyterian ministers, who were also required to take these oaths, were naturally offended at the Erastianism by which the taking of them was enforced.

Another Act was passed at this time, which for a long

period exercised a most disastrous influence upon the Church of Scotland. Immediately after the passing of the Toleration Act, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons, and passed almost unopposed, by which it was resolved to restore to patrons the right of presentation to the parish churches. When it reached the House of Lords, a deputation from the Established Church of Scotland, including Carstares, now principal of Edinburgh University, appeared to oppose its progress. They showed from its history that patronage had always been regarded as a grievance in the Scottish Church. It had been abolished in 1649 as obnoxious to presbyterianism, and only restored with the introduction of episcopacy in 1660. At the Revolution it had been again abolished, and the patrons had been on that occasion compensated for any loss they might be supposed to have sustained. They had therefore no longer any claim to these patronages. Besides, the Act of Security, which formed so important a condition in the Union, provided that the constitution of the church as established at the Revolution would be maintained. In spite of all these thoroughly sound arguments urged against it, the bill was passed by a majority, and received the royal assent on the 22nd of April. The church to which this legislation was to be applied had been allowed no voice in the matter, and seems to have unanimously reprobated the measure. The Assembly of that year, meeting immediately after the passing of the Act, complained of it in very emphatic language in the address to the Crown; but there is little doubt that if the Assemblies of that time had been more resolute and heroic in the attitude they assumed toward the government such mischievous legislation would never have been ventured upon.

Outside the Church of Scotland the Cameronians, under the ministry of Mr. M'Millan and the Rev. John M'Neil, a probationer of the Established Church who had joined their Societies, continued to maintain their protest against the civil and ecclesiastical government. It was now resolved, in order to confirm and establish their own mem-

bers and in order to give forth a testimony before the people of Scotland, to have a great united meeting of the Societies for the renewing of the Covenant. This meeting was held in August, 1712, at Auchinsaugh, in the Lanarkshire parish of Crawfordjohn. Immense crowds gathered, and the services lasted two days. On the first day an *Acknowledgment of Sins* was read, which occupied forty-one pages quarto in small type, and on the following day the *Engagement to Duties*, a shorter paper. The Covenant was read article by article, and solemnly sworn to. Wherever mention is made of the king, it is altered to read "The lawful supreme magistrate," "The lawful supreme magistrate when obtained." In regard to civil duties, the Covenanters declare of existing magistrates that they "should not corroborate their unjust authority by paying them cess and supply for upholding their corrupt courts and armies employed in an unjust and anti-Christian quarrel, or by compearing before their judicatories either to defend or pursue lawsuits, or upon any other account." After the renewing of the Covenant, the Lord's Supper was celebrated for the first time since the formation of the Societies, and it is surprising and saddening to learn that this holy ordinance was not again dispensed among them for more than thirty years. When it is remembered that Mr. M'Millan's ministry extended over the long period of forty-seven years, and that he was able Sabbath after Sabbath to address congregations larger or smaller at which members of the Societies were present, it cannot be that the wideness of the district over which they were scattered constitutes the reason for the strange neglect of so precious a Christian ordinance. It is probable that some of the more spiritually-minded among them were deterred by a superstitious view of the sacrament and an oppressive sense of their own unworthiness, but also that a large number were more occupied with political and ecclesiastical polemics than with devout thoughts and spiritual exercises. It must at the same time be remembered that, as respects individuals, many of those who most warmly interested

themselves in the ecclesiastical and ecclesiastico-political questions of the day were personally most profoundly exercised in matters of religious experience. Some of the keenest controversialists were among the humblest of saints, and the most devout and reverent of worshippers.

CHAPTER IX.

*Marrow Controversy and Secessions.**

1712—1761.

THE death of Queen Anne and the succession of the Hanoverian, George I., in the autumn of 1714 tended upon the whole to the advancement of the interests of presbyterianism in Scotland. A series of Acts, some of them good in themselves, some evil, but all of them, from the time and circumstances in which they were issued, inimical to Scottish presbyterianism, had been passed in the closing years of the Queen's reign. Episcopalian historians, like Dr. Grub, are confidently of opinion that had she only lived a few years longer other measures would have been passed conferring further advantages on the episcopal church in Scotland. Considerable trouble was occasioned by the imposition on presbyterian ministers of the abjuration oath. Those who consented to take it, the so-called Jurants, headed by Carstairs, sought to relieve themselves by making a protest and indicating the interpretation which they put upon it.

* Literature :—*Memoirs of the Life, Times and Writings of the Reverend and Learned Thomas Boston* (1776), ed. by Morrison, Edin. 1899; M'Kerrow, *History of the Secession Church*, Edin., 1839; Struthers, *History of the Relief Church*, Glasgow, 1843; M'Ewen, *The Erskines* (Fam. Scots Series), Edin., 1900; Dr. John M'Ewan, *Studies, Historical, Doctrinal and Biographical*, Edin., 1900 (containing artt. on *Boston, Scottish Episcopacy, Marrow Controversy*, etc.); Morren, *Annals of the Assembly* (1739-1766), 2 vols., Edin., 1838, 1840; Wodrow's *Correspondence*, Vols. II. and III., ed. by Dr. M'Crië (1715-1731), Edin., 1843; Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, Paisley, 1893, pp. 172-214; Robe, *Narrative of the Extraordinary Work of God at Cambuslang, Kilsyth*, etc.

The more rigid declined to take the oath even with an explanation, and were called Nonjurants. The latter formed practically a covenanting party within the church, and there was considerable friction and bitterness between the two parties. This unpleasant state of matters continued for several years, until in 1719 an Act was passed modifying the terms of the oath so that no longer any mention was made of the obligation of the English sovereign to belong to the episcopal church of England, while on the other hand an episcopal minister officiating where more than nine persons besides the members of the household were present must pray for King George and the royal family by name and subscribe the abjuration oath, under penalty of six months' imprisonment, and the closing of his chapel during that period.

The Jacobite insurrection of 1715 under the Earl of Mar proved highly injurious to the interests of the Scottish episcopalians. They had in large numbers taken part in or expressed sympathy with the rebellion. "The disappointment of their hopes," says Dr. Grub, "ecclesiastical and political, and the succession of George the First, and the certainty that a peaceful restoration of the ancient line was no longer possible, united almost all the friends of the hierarchy in attachment to the cause of James. The most distinguished of the Jacobite leaders were zealous supporters of the episcopacy. . . . Treasonable acts of the most overt character took place on the part of some of the clergy. . . . An address was laid before James bearing to proceed from the episcopal clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen and probably signed by most of their number." In these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the government looked with suspicion and disfavour upon a church with such pronounced political leanings.

In the last days of the year 1715 the great churchman to whom the present presbyterian Church of Scotland largely owes her constitution and establishment passed away. On the death of King William it was no longer necessary that his chaplain should remain in London. Although Queen

Anne showed her respect for Carstares by continuing him in the office of royal chaplain, as a staunch episcopalian she did not require his personal services, and accordingly he soon resolved to take up his residence in Edinburgh. On the death of Gilbert Rule in 1703, the town council appointed Carstares Principal of Edinburgh University. The salary had been £41 13s., but it was now increased to £92, and when some time after he was appointed minister of Greyfriars Church, his stipend for the double office amounted to about £127. He proved a most efficient and energetic principal, and he also took an active part in teaching as *primarius* professor of divinity. In 1707 he was appointed minister of St. Giles. The leading statesmen of the day acknowledged that without Carstares the union of the two kingdoms could scarcely have been accomplished. As leader of the church he was not able to prevent the passing of those Acts of the Queen's government which were so objectionable to presbyterians, but his moderation and prudence did much to prevent a collision between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, which would have been ruinous to the interests of the Scottish church. In the Assembly of 1715 he held the moderatorship for the third time, for it was to his wise guidance that his fellow-churchmen looked in seasons of difficulty and danger. He was laid to rest in the churchyard of Greyfriars, near the remains of Alexander Henderson, who in a different way suited to his own age had fought the same battle for truth and liberty.

In this last Assembly of Carstares he was called upon to deal with the first charge of heresy that had ever been preferred against a minister of the Church of Scotland. The party charged with this offence was John Simson, professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow. Rumours had prevailed as to the unsoundness of his teaching, but his own presbytery declined to take the initiative in investigating the matter. This disagreeable duty was at last undertaken by Mr. Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who brought the subject under the notice of his synod and then before the Assembly. In 1715 the Assembly appointed a

committee to consider the charges which Mr. Webster might be able to formulate against the professor, with instructions, however, to hear all the explanations which the accused might make and to give him every opportunity to modify unfortunate or objectionable statements. This committee reported to the Assembly of 1717. Simson had been charged with teaching Arminian and Pelagian doctrines. He sought to show that in some cases he had been misunderstood, and that what had been represented as his own views were simply those of others which he referred to in order to confute. Yet after all possible deductions of that sort, it was quite evident that several of the statements of his own opinions were altogether irreconcilable with the doctrine of the Confession. The great majority of the members of the Assembly were evidently in sympathy with the professor and prepared to judge him leniently. The conclusion come to was that he had been guilty of using expressions capable of being understood in an unsound sense, and so he was reprov'd and enjoined to be careful not to use such expressions in future. This decision gave great offence to the more earnest and evangelical ministers throughout the church. And from this time onward the cleft between a moderate and an evangelical party in the church became more and more clearly marked. The controversy now begun was continued through many generations of the church's history.

The panic created throughout the church by Simson's case while it was pending, is well illustrated by the conduct of the presbytery of Auchterarder. In examining a student, William Craig, who presented himself to be taken on trials for license, the presbytery, fearing that he might be infected with heresy, were not satisfied with the ordinary formula, but required him to answer certain questions and subscribe to certain statements which they had devised for the occasion. One of the new articles of what was contemptuously called *The Auchterarder Creed*, in regard to which the young man's statement was considered particularly unsatisfactory, ran thus: That I believe it is not sound and orthodox to preach that we must forsake sin in order to our

coming to Christ and instating us in covenant with God. On the young man's appeal to the Assembly the presbytery was reprov'd for requiring subscription to any formula other than that prescribed by the church. For such a decision much may be said, but when the Assembly proceeded to condemn the proposition, it is evident that they attached a meaning to it altogether different from that intended by the presbytery. It simply meant that in coming to Christ we come with all our sins that they may be forgiven, without the presupposition of any meritorious preparation on our part. This decision again gave great offence to the evangelical ministers and members of the church.

There was now in the Church of Scotland a considerable number of ministers warmly in sympathy with the views of divine truth expressed in the so-called Auchterarder Creed. While they characterised the dominant party in the Assembly as Neonomians, affirming that they represented the gospel as a new law which conferred salvation upon certain terms, they were themselves styled by their opponents Antinomians, as depreciating the importance of obedience and good works by maintaining that faith alone was necessary. By far the most distinguished and best remembered of those who contended against what they regarded as the Neonomian tendency of the views prevailing in the church was Thomas Boston. This great Scottish divine was a native of Duns, where he was born in 1676. He was ordained at Simprin, in Berwickshire, the smallest parish in Scotland in respect of population, in 1699, and was translated in 1707 to the parish of Ettrick in Selkirkshire where he remained till his death in 1732. He published in 1720 his well-known and widely read *Fourfold Stat.*, which, as delivered first of all as a course of sermons, attracted thoughtful men to hear them, and induced some to walk fifty miles from their home and back again Sabbath after Sabbath during the delivery of the whole series. And such men, too, felt that they were well rewarded for their pains. His *Crook in the Lot* is one of the Scottish sacred classics. He was the best Hebrew scholar of his day in

Scotland, and wrote a work on the Hebrew Accents which continental orientalist recognized as highly valuable. As an ecclesiastic he took a prominent part in the debates of the church courts, and was spoken of as a peculiarly able and efficient presbytery clerk. He was a vigorous defender of the church's independence, but though in spiritual sympathy with the Cameronians, he very strongly opposed their attitude toward the church and the civil government as that of separatists and schismatics.

While minister in Simprin, Boston, when visiting the house of one of his parishioners, found a book written by an English puritan, entitled *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*. This work was the production of an Oxford graduate, Edward Fisher, and was originally published in 1646. Boston was greatly interested in the book, which in dialogue form discusses the questions raised by Neonomianism and Antinomianism from the evangelical standpoint. In the Auchterarder and Simson cases Boston was strongly opposed to the decisions of the Assembly, condemning what he considered evangelical and scriptural teaching. He found, as he thought, in the *Marrow* an admirable exposition of what he regarded as the truth, and while the discussion in the Auchterarder case was going on he showed the book to Mr. Drummond of Crieff, who on studying it became enthusiastic in his admiration of it. As the book was now out of print and scarce, Boston and Drummond arranged to bring out a new edition, which was published in 1718, with a recommendatory preface by Mr. Hog of Carnock. In consequence of misunderstandings and misrepresentations of the character and tendency of the doctrine of the work, Mr. Hog in the following year published an explanation of the passages objected to. Thereupon Principal Hadlow of St. Andrews, an able theologian and a good man, but a member of the party regarded by Boston and his friends as Neonomians, preached and published a synod sermon in which the doctrine of the *Marrow* was criticised and condemned. The Assembly of 1719, without actually naming the *Marrow*, instructed the Commission "to inquire into

the publishing and spreading of books and pamphlets tending to the diffusing of the condemned proposition of Auchterarder, and promoting a system of opinions relative thereto which are inconsistent with our Confession of Faith, and that the recommenders of such books or pamphlets or the errors therein contained, be called before them to answer for their conduct in such recommendations." The Commission appointed a committee at St. Andrews to examine the *Marrow*, which was regarded as the manifesto of the so-called heretical party. This committee set forth under five heads the doctrines of this book which they condemned: 1. That saving faith is a man's persuasion that Christ is his and died for him; 2. That the atonement is universal; 3. That holiness is not necessary to salvation; 4. That fear of punishment and hope of reward are not motives of a believer's obedience; 5. That the believer is not under the law as a rule of life. Several paradoxical sentences are quoted, without consideration of any modifying or qualifying context. The Assembly of 1720 received this committee's report, and resolved, only four members dissenting, to prohibit ministers recommending the book, and to require them to preach and warn their people against reading or using it. At next Assembly, twelve ministers, including Boston and Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, with other highly respected theologians, made a representation in favour of the book, with a request for the repeal of its condemnation, and after various delays this memorial came up for discussion before the Assembly of 1722. By a large majority it was decided that the twelve defenders of the *Marrow* should be admonished and rebuked. These men, however, and an ever increasing company of the most trusted ministers of the church, continued to hold and spread their doctrines; and in 1727 Boston published a new edition of the repudiated work, with voluminous notes in which its teachings were explained and defended.

The discussions which had taken place on doctrinal questions resulted in the bringing together of the more

earnest and evangelical ministers of the church, and binding them in a confederacy with one another for the defence of the truth, and the exposure of what they regarded as serious departures from orthodox or scriptural teaching. The decision of the Assembly in the case of Professor Simson had produced widespread dissatisfaction, and his utterances were now considered and scrutinized with more than ordinary attention. The slight and partial censure passed upon him by the supreme court of the church was not likely to deter him from pursuing the line of thought that had been complained of, and so in 1727 a charge was brought against him of not only continuing to teach Arminian and Pelagian doctrines as before, but of holding and proclaiming Arian views in regard to the Trinity and the Person of Christ. He had said that the persons in the godhead were not the same in substance, and that supreme deity might be regarded as the personal property of the Father and not of the Son. The evangelical party had now grown in numbers and in influence, and so the Assembly of 1728 found it necessary to suspend the professor while the complaints against him were being investigated. He now braced himself up to a vigorous and elaborate defence. He stoutly maintained his full and hearty acceptance of all the doctrines of the Confession of Faith, and sought by means of subtle, and as many thought, sophistical, philosophical distinctions to explain away the appearance of incongruity between his utterances and the statements of the standards of the church. It had, however, become quite evident that Professor Simson could no longer command the confidence of the church, or be any longer entrusted with the training of the students. The whole proceedings in the case and the conclusion come to, was not such as to reflect any credit either on the Professor or on the Assembly. Although a majority of presbyteries had called for the deposition of the accused, the Assembly simply continued his suspension. It was declared unfitting that he should be henceforth employed in teaching divinity, but he was allowed to retain his status and draw the emoluments of his office. There

was evidently considerable dissatisfaction with this lame conclusion, but Thomas Boston was the only one bold enough to enter his dissent against the inadequacy of the sentence. Boston was henceforth recognised as the leader of the advanced wing of the evangelical party in the church.

Instead of being roused to greater watchfulness against the encroachments of error, the church seemed to become more and more indifferent with regard to doctrinal defection. The Professor of Church History in St. Andrews, Mr. Campbell, published certain treatises in which principles were inculcated of a purely rationalistic type. In these books he taught that the light of nature is incapable of discovering the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, but that, nevertheless, the laws of nature are to be regarded as a sufficient rule to guide men to happiness, that self-love is the chief motive to religious actions, and that we cannot act from a higher principle than our self-interest. For years no notice of these purely pagan positions was taken in the church courts, and when at last in 1736 complaints from without compelled the Assembly to make some appearance of enquiry, the most unsatisfactory explanations and evasions were accepted, and the professor was sent back to his chair without censure or admonition of any kind.

Meantime disturbances had broken out in various parts of the country on account of the intrusion of unacceptable ministers on reluctant and resisting congregations. In several of these cases, the sympathy of the presbytery was with the people, and the presbyters refused to act at the bidding of a patron in forcing an unsuitable or unpopular man upon an unwilling people. Patronage, which had always been disliked by the people and Church of Scotland, was now working very badly. The patrons were often men who had no understanding of the religious or spiritual needs of those whose ministers they were empowered to choose. They often selected the presentee on grounds of personal favour, or with a view to obliging some one interested in the promotion of a particular individual. In

some cases, the man presented was manifestly of mean abilities or of doubtful character; in other cases, he was simply unsuitable for the special sphere to which he was assigned. The call of the people was a mere formality, and was not allowed to override what were styled the rights of the patron. On the occasion of a presentation of a Mr. Hay to the parish of Peebles in 1717, the presbytery refused to proceed with his settlement in the face of a strong popular opposition. The Assembly, failing to bring the majority of the presbytery to consent to carry out the induction, appointed certain of their own members as assessors to the presbytery, what came to be called a *riding committee*, to secure the settlement of the patron's nominee against the wish both of the people and of the presbytery. At Bathgate, in November of this same year, the aid of the soldiers had to be obtained to protect the minister who was to serve the edict for the ordination of one whom the people would not have as their minister. The form of a call was still, however, insisted upon, and various opinions were entertained as to its importance, and different Assemblies came to different conclusions as to the parties entitled to give their votes. Some insisted that the Act of 1690 had not been repealed by that of 1712, and that consequently the introduction of patronage did not interfere with the right of the elders and heritors to give the call. Others maintained that this right belonged to heads of families according to the legislation of 1649. It seems very evident that any real call is inconsistent with patronage, and would reduce presentations to nothing better than mere nominations.

The conflicts occasioned by the rival claims of call and presentation led to the bringing up of an overture to the Assembly of 1731, which proposed that in all cases where the settlement of vacancies devolved on presbyteries, they should give heed to a call from elders and heritors being protestants. In order to prevent patrons keeping parishes long vacant, it had been decreed that if no presentation were made within six months, then *jure devoluto* the pres-

bytery must proceed to fill the vacancy. But besides this, it would seem that many patrons made no presentation, but left the matter in the hands of the presbytery. The reform proposed by this overture would have been somewhat far-reaching in its extent. Yet it would not affect any case in which the patron chose timeously to exercise his rights. This overture was sent down under the Barrier Act in order that presbyteries might report approval or disapproval to next Assembly. In defiance of all constitutional law, a statement accompanied the overture to the effect that if presbyteries failed to send up their opinion, it would be brought before the Assembly to be passed into a standing law or not as the vote might go. When the Assembly met in May, 1732, it was found that eighteen, some say only six, approved, while thirty-one disapproved. In glaring opposition to all law, it was agreed that twelve presbyteries which suggested alterations in the terms of the overture, and eighteen which made no return, should be added to those favourable, and in this way a majority was secured for the overture. It was thus illegally declared a law of the church. One of the Marrow men, Ebenezer Erskine of Portmoak, objected to the unchristian principle of showing respect to persons, which limited the right of calling a minister to those who were the possessors of land. Thus began the agitation in favour of popular election, the right of those who are to be ministered to to choose who shall minister to them, which was destined soon to become the most prominent and the most persistent ecclesiastical question in Scottish history.

Ebenezer Erskine, son of a minister who had been ejected as a nonconformist minister in England in 1662 and afterwards in Scotland suffered imprisonment and exile, was born at Dryburgh in 1680. He was ordained as a minister of the Church of Scotland at Portmoak in Kinross-shire, near Lochleven, in 1703, and in 1731 he was translated to the more important charge of Stirling. He was a pronounced evangelical and a defender of popular rights. As we have seen, he identified himself with the Marrow men, and pro-

tested against the limitation of the right of voting for a minister in a vacancy to heritors and elders. His reputation as a preacher was very high; his deportment grave and dignified. An opportunity was given him in 1732 of issuing a notable protest against the legislation of the previous year. As retiring moderator of the synod of Perth and Stirling, it was his duty and privilege to preach the opening sermon. He resolved to take advantage of his position to address to an unwilling audience a vigorous protest against the defections of the church and age. Some ignorantly condemn him for making what they regard as an illegitimate use of the place which his brethren had assigned to him. But it ought to be remembered that the Assembly of 1730 had passed a most important measure depriving members of their proper right of entering a dissent against any decision of a church judicatory. Being in this way prevented from having his dissent duly recorded, there was no other means open to him of exonerating his conscience, but by giving public expression to his convictions in such a way as this occasion provided. In that synod sermon of 1733, preaching from the text, *The stone which the builders rejected, the same is made the headstone of the corner*, Mr. Erskine said: "There is a twofold call necessary for a man who meddles as a builder in the church of God: there is the call of God and of the church. The call of the church lies in the free choice and election of the christian people. . . . Shall we suppose that ever God granted to any set of men, patrons, heritors, elders, or whatever they be, a power to impose servants on his family, without their consent, being the freest society in the world. . . . A cry and complaint came in before the last Assembly for relief and redress of these and many other grievances, both from ministers and people; but instead of a due regard had thereto, an Act is passed confining the power of election unto heritors and elders, whereby a new wound is given to the prerogative of Christ and the privilege of his subjects. Whatever church authority may be in that Act, yet it wants the authority of the Son of God. . . . By this Act the corner stone is

receded from, He is rejected in His poor members, and the rich of this world put in His room." The synod were greatly moved and offended by the plain speaking of these and other similar passages in the sermon, and passed a vote of condemnation, requiring the preacher to submit to rebuke. Mr. Erskine refused to make his submission, and appealed against the sentence to the General Assembly. In his protest he was joined by Mr. Alexander Moncrieff of Abernethy, Mr. William Wilson of Perth, and his son-in-law, Mr. James Fisher of Kinclaven, along with other ten ministers and two ruling elders. At the Assembly of 1733, only three of the ministers protesting Moncrieff, Wilson, and Fisher, appeared as adhering to their protest, but they were refused a hearing. After discussion, the Assembly found the expressions used in the sermon offensive and tending to disturb the peace and good order of the church, approved of the decision of the synod, and appointed that Mr. Erskine should appear at the bar and be rebuked by the moderator. Mr. Erskine refused to submit in silence, and declared his adherence to what he had said in his sermon. To this declaration the other three recorded their adherence. As the Assembly declined to allow him to read his declaration, he laid it on the table, and, along with his three supporters, he left the house. The paper was afterwards taken up and read by a member to the Assembly, and the four offenders were immediately summoned to appear and answer for their audacious conduct. When they appeared next day a committee was appointed to confer with the refractory brethren, with the result that the Assembly, acting on its committee's report, ordered the four ministers to appear before the August commission, which was empowered, in case they refused to express sorrow and retract, to suspend them from the exercise of their ministry. The November commission was instructed, in case the brethren continued obstinate, to proceed to a higher censure. The August commission, before which they duly appeared, refused to allow any papers to be read, but ordered them to answer such questions as might be proposed, and this was to be done by them

separately and *viva voce*. Each on being questioned refused to retract, and at last Mr. Erskine was allowed to read his paper. After a committee had dealt with them for several hours, it was found that they could not be induced to withdraw their protest or express sorrow for having made it. Finally, by a majority the sentence of suspension was carried. At the November commission, the four protesting ministers were asked if they had obeyed the previous commission's sentence of suspension, and they answered that they had not. The decision of the commission to inflict the higher censure was carried by the casting vote of the moderator, Mr. John Gowdie of Edinburgh. The four brethren were accordingly loosed from their charges, declared no longer ministers of the church, and all ministers were forbidden to employ them in any ministerial function. Their churches were declared vacant, and presbyteries to which they had belonged were notified of the sentence that had been passed. A protest against the sentence, with a claim for liberty to complain to the next General Assembly was tabled by Mr. Gabriel Wilson of Maxton, and adhered to by Mr. Ralph Erskine of Dunfermline, Mr. Thomas Mair of Orwell, Mr. Thomas Nairn of Abbotshall, and other three ministers. On intimation of sentence, the four brethren handed in a formal protest and appealed to the first free, faithful and reforming General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. It is contended that the secession was made not from the Church of Scotland, but from a party in the church which was then dominating her counsels. The seceders also declared that their action was not taken in view of violent intrusions, nor on account of the obnoxious Act of 1732, but as a protest against the whole course of defection in respect of doctrine, government and discipline of which the judicatories of the church had been guilty and from which they refused to withdraw.

On the fifth of December the four brethren met at Gairney Bridge, near Kinross, and constituted the first Associate Presbytery. Their meetings, however, were only for prayer and conference, and they did not for about two years longer proceed to what are called acts of judicature.

Meantime the Assembly of 1734 sought to open the door for the seceders' return. They authorized the Synod of Perth and Stirling to restore the seceding ministers to their charges, while declaring all former proceedings and decisions of the Assembly to stand as they were, and prohibiting the Synod from referring to the past. The Seceders, after careful deliberation, declined to be reponed by the Synod, on the ground that the objectionable acts which they still refused to recognize were unrepealed, and that on their return to the church they would find themselves in the unhealthy atmosphere from which they had escaped. Mr. Wilson of Perth hesitated for a while, but the further proceedings of the church courts convinced him that his brethren were right in continuing in the position into which they had been driven outside the Church of Scotland. Though Mr. Wilson was not yet quite clear on the subject, it was agreed in August, 1735, to proceed to regular presbyterial business. Occasional supply of ordinances was given to parties in various parishes who made request for help. As such applications increased in number and came in from all parts of the country, the question arose as to the training of young men for the Secession ministry, and in the end of 1736, Mr. Wilson was appointed professor, his classes to be conducted during three months of the year. This accomplished, scholarly, and thoroughly efficient man, delivered his lectures and conducted all his intercourse with his students in Latin.

In December, 1736, the presbytery issued its *Judicial Testimony*. It was the purpose of this document to make a statement of the truths regarded as in accordance with the word of God and the church standards, and to point out and condemn the errors which the church had accepted contrary to these standards. It was not a new confessional standard, but only a declaration of the sense of the old standards which had been departed from by a corrupt and unfaithful church. One fault is candidly pointed out by the historian of the Secession Church. The compilers of this Testimony went out of their way to condemn the union

of Scotland and England, and the repeal of laws against witches. Several of the evangelical ministers within the church, who had previously been sympathetic toward the Seceders, became vigorous assailants of the Testimony, and so the breach between the Church and the Secession was widened.

Ralph Erskine of Dunfermline, brother of the leader of the Secession, and Mr. Thomas Mair of Orwell, had been present when the Associate Presbytery was constituted, but they did not then attach themselves to the seceding brethren. The accession of these two ministers, however, took place in February, 1737. Ralph Erskine was born in 1685, studied at Edinburgh, and was ordained at Dunfermline in 1711. Like his brother, he identified himself with the Marrow men, and proved an eminently useful and popular evangelical preacher. The Associate Presbytery was further strengthened by the admission in October, 1737, of Mr. Thomas Nairn of Abbotshall, and of Mr. James Thomson of Burntisland, in June, 1738.

Within the Church of Scotland there was meanwhile exhibited a very remarkable inconsistency and inconsequence between theory and practice. Measures were passed by the Assembly of 1736 declaring intrusion into the office of the ministry against the will of the people to be contrary to the principles of the Scottish Church, and injunctions were addressed to presbyteries to have regard to this in planting vacant congregations. During 1737, however, there were no less than four cases of disputed settlements, in all of which the Assembly forced reluctant presbyteries to proceed with the settlement of presentees against whom a large number of the people had vigorously protested. In his life of Dr. Erskine, Sir H. Wellwood Moncrieff says distinctly that the popular enactments of 1736 were made with a view to soothing the discontent of the people by conciliatory language, without any intention of following it up by authoritative decisions. It was conduct like this that made Ralph Erskine see at last how vain it

was to wait longer in the hope of the church reforming itself from within.

The Associate Presbytery was now composed of eight members, and preparations were being made for increasing the number of ministers so as to meet the calls that were addressed them from all parts of the land. In the end of 1757 two students who had been in the divinity hall for two sessions were put on trial for licence, and thus the presbytery was gradually assuming the position of a regularly organized church. Taking notice of this, the Assembly of 1738 resolved to call upon their ministers, and especially members of synods and presbyteries in which any of the seceding brethren reside, to use their diligence by conference and persuasion, to induce them to return to the communion of the church, and to use all proper means to reclaim those poor deluded people who had been carried away by the division. These ministers were also to report to the commission, which was empowered to receive reports and prepare a case for the Assembly, and, if necessary, to take steps for citing the separating brethren before the Assembly to answer for their irregular conduct. The November commission prepared a libel, which was served on all the members of the presbytery in March, 1739, summoning them to the bar of the Assembly, and charging them with making an unwarrantable secession from the church, with forming themselves into a presbytery and exercising judicial presbyterial power, with emitting a Testimony in which the church and its judicatories were condemned, dispensing ordinances outside of their own parishes, ordaining elders and appointing fasts in various parts of the country, taking parties on trial and licensing them as preachers, together with other particular acts of offence. The members of the presbytery resolved to decline the jurisdiction of the Assembly, on the ground of its not being a rightly constituted church court, as having among its members unlawfully intruded ministers, as having tolerated error and imposed new and unwarrantable terms of ministerial and Christian communion, and as having

subordinated themselves in their ecclesiastical practices to the civil government. This declaration they presented before the Assembly in May, 1739, before which they appeared as a fully constituted presbytery. Having done so they withdrew to their own place of meeting. The Assembly passed a motion which, after commenting severely upon the boldness and obduracy of the separating brethren, and indicating the slenderness of any hope of their relenting, resolved to delay action till next Assembly, when the case should be finally disposed of. At the Assembly of 1740, the brethren, though summoned, did not appear, and the sentence of deposition was carried by a large majority.

During all this time the Seceders were busying themselves as evangelists, and great spiritual quickening took place throughout the country. It cannot be doubted that their fervid evangelistic preaching did much to prepare the people for that remarkable period of revival in the years immediately following. Strange to say these movements when they came about found in those very men whose work had led up to them, their most bitter and persistent opponents. The great English Evangelist, George Whitefield, came to Scotland in the summer of 1741 in response to a warm and urgent invitation from the Erskines. Undoubtedly in giving this invitation the Secession fathers had primarily in view the spiritual reviving of the people, but, unfortunately, they sought to bind down their guest to work exclusively in co-operation with them. Whitefield, after consideration, declared this impossible, and when it was found that the evangelist was ready to preach in any pulpit that would open to him, the rigid Seceders drew off from him and denounced him as a Latitudinarian in severe and altogether indefensible terms. Mr. Whitefield continued his work as an evangelist throughout various parts of Scotland during 1742. The evangelical ministers of the Church of Scotland opened their pulpits to him and gave him a hearty welcome and ready assistance. In Cambuslang the warm-hearted and earnest-minded

minister, Mr. M'Culloch, had awakened spiritual interest in his people by circulating among them accounts of revival work in other places, and preached a long series of sermons on the nature and necessity of the new birth. A great excitement was produced, daily services were instituted, immense crowds flocked to the place, and hundreds after sermon waited on the minister for instruction under deep spiritual concern. Mr. Whitefield took part in this work, and he declares that thousands were there brought under the influence of the truth. At the communion dispensed there in August, three thousand sat down at the table and a crowd of some thirty thousand attended the services conducted on that occasion. Secession leaders, Ralph Erskine, Adam Gib and James Fisher wrote bitterly against the *Cambuslang* work as one of Satan's delusions, while it was defended and sympathetically reported by Robe of Kilsyth, Willison of Dundee, and Webster of Edinburgh. The good work spread to Kilsyth, Stevenston, Shotts, and many other places, and Mr. M'Culloch was able to testify to the enduring and satisfactory character of the movement after nine years' observation of those who professed to have undergone the great spiritual change.

During the rebellion of 1745, just as in that of thirty years before, the Scottish episcopalians almost to a man showed themselves determined Jacobites. This was undoubtedly true in regard to the episcopal ministers, whereas so far as appears, only one presbyterian minister showed any sympathy with the Pretender. Mr. James Man, minister of Dunkeld, was charged before the Assembly of 1747 with having failed to pray for the royal family and having prayed for the King, Duke and Princess of Wales, with having proposed the health of the King, Prince and Duke, with saying that if they do not succeed Scotland will be ruined, and that it was hard that a young gentleman should suffer for the faults of his ancestors. He tried to explain away some of his utterances, and otherwise pled the threatening attitude of the Marquess of Tullibardine and other rebels. Notwithstanding all these excuses, he was put under suspension for

six months. In consequence of their sympathy with the rebels, Scotch episcopalians were forbidden to preach, baptise, or administer the Eucharist under pain of imprisonment.

In the Secession Church the peace and harmony which had characterised the earlier years of their separate existence was doomed soon to be broken. During the first twelve years of their denominational existence they had prospered and their numerical increase was encouraging. Though Mr. Nairn left them in 1743, having adopted the views of the Old Dissenters or Cameronians, they had so increased in number and their business had developed to such an extent, that they resolved in October, 1744, to form a synod consisting of three presbyteries—to be named the presbyteries of Dunfermline, Edinburgh and Glasgow. The first meeting of the Associate Synod was held on the first Tuesday of March, 1745. There were now twenty-six ordained ministers in the body, while there were besides sixteen or seventeen vacant congregations. During the rebellion the seceders proved themselves ardent royalists, and a company of three hundred belonging to the congregation of Edinburgh and neighbourhood had themselves drilled and put in readiness for the defence of the city. It was so throughout the denomination generally, and Mr. Erskine at Stirling received thanks from the Duke of Cumberland for the zeal which he had shown in the king's cause.

Trouble arose among the Seceders over the burgess oath. It had been brewing for a year or two, but at last broke out in 1747. The clause specially objected to ran as follows:—*Here I protest before God and your Lordships that I profess and allow with my heart, the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorised by the laws thereof: I shall abide thereat, and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion called papistry.* The question arose as to what was meant by “true religion presently professed within this realm.” Some held that this implied approbation of the corruptions then prevailing in the Established Church; while others argued that it did not imply approbation of the manner in which religion was

professed, but only of the true religion itself. During 1745, 1746, and 1747, several meetings of synods were held, at which various questions of procedure were angrily and tediously debated. The story of these discussions as given by Mr. M'Kerrow in his history in some fourteen pages form the dreariest reading and about the most bewildering to be found anywhere in the English language. At the meeting of synod in April, 1747, it was moved that the decision of the synod of April, 1746, against the taking of the oath should not be held a term of communion till presbyteries and sessions had been consulted. Twenty-three who had voted against putting this question did not vote, and of the fifty-five present only twenty voted, and all of them in favour of the motion here referred to. The vote was thus really against the majority, who therefore now withdrew from the synod. The Secession Church was by means of this vote broken up into two divisions, each claiming to be the Associate Synod; but for distinction's sake those belonging to the larger body which gave an out and out opposition to the Burgess Oath were called "The Anti-Burghers," and those belonging to the smaller body which declined to regard the taking of the oath as sinful were called the "Burghers." The leader of the Anti-Burghers was Adam Gib, and of the Secession fathers Alexander Moncrieff of Abernethy went with him. On the side of the Burghers were found the Erskines and Mr. James Fisher. In August, 1749, the Anti-Burgher Synod passed sentence of the greater excommunication upon all the ministerial members of the Burgher Synod. There was henceforth confusion and trouble everywhere. Friends who had been as brothers no longer recognised one another as Christian ministers; congregations were divided, and lawsuits were entered upon to determine to which party in cases of division the property might be assigned.

Within the Established Church this period was especially remarkable for the number of disputed settlements. Between 1740 and 1750 more than fifty such cases had to be disposed of by the Assembly. In some instances parishes

remained long vacant, and contentions of a most embittered character prevailed. The decisions of the Assembly were determined by no definite rule, and were variable and uncertain. "In some instances," says Dr. Cunningham, "the patron was begged to withdraw his presentation, as the concurrence of the people could not be obtained; in others, the presentee was forced upon the parish in spite of its opposition; in others, a numerously signed call was preferred to a presentation backed by a call with only a few names attached to it." This want of uniformity in the Assembly's decisions was felt to be a very great evil.

The case of Torphichen deserves to be specially noted. The patron had given a presentation in favour of a Mr. Watson, in behalf of whom only five or six out of an examinable population of a thousand could be got to sign a call. Against him, therefore, the opposition was practically universal. The presbytery of Linlithgow, though ordered to proceed with the ordination by the Synod of 1749 and the Assembly of 1750, refused to do so. The Assembly of 1751, after long discussion, voted on the question whether to suspend the refractory members of presbytery or simply rebuke them. The motion for suspension, moved and seconded, in maiden speeches, by John Home of Athelstaneford (afterwards known as author of the play *Douglas*) and William Robertson of Gladsmuir (afterwards Principal and historian), secured only eleven votes; while the motion for rebuke secured two hundred votes. After the rebuke was administered, a riding commission, the last ever appointed in the Church of Scotland, was named to act with or for the presbytery so as to carry out the ordination of the unpopular presentee.

The next important case of intrusion, that of Inverkeithing, was in some respects very similar, but in consequence of the determination of some of the resisting members of presbytery and the dogged resolution of the leaders of the church in the Assembly to enforce the law regardless of what the immediate results might be, the issue was more directly and conspicuously disastrous. A Mr. Richardson of Broughton

in Peeblesshire was presented by the patron to the parish of Inverkeithing in 1749, and certain heritors, elders and town councillors, joined in a call to him, which, after having been refused by the presbytery, was referred by the synod of Fife to the Assembly of 1750. The Assembly referred the case to the Commission, which sustained the call. Some of the promoters of Mr. Richardson's settlement appeared before the Presbytery and declared that they had reason to believe that many who had opposed the call would acquiesce in the settlement after it had been effected. The presbytery accordingly appointed a committee to meet with the elders and town councillors, but after this committee gave in their report, the presbytery declared that it would be hurtful to the interests of religion to admit Mr. Richardson to Inverkeithing and requested the Commission to give them relief. The synod of Fife to whom the case went by appeal expressed dissatisfaction with the presbytery for not obeying the Commission's injunction, and ordered them forthwith to proceed with Mr. Richardson's settlement. The presbytery thereafter by a majority resolved to delay procedure and to make a representation to the Commission. The case then went by appeal to the November Commission 1751, which ordered the presbytery under the presidency of the moderator, Mr. Spence of Orwell, to proceed to the admission of Mr. Richardson under pain of very high censure in case of disobedience. At the March Commission, 1752, a motion was carried by a small majority that the presbytery be not censured. A considerable party headed by Mr. Robertson of Gladsmuir dissented from this decision, and their *Reasons of Dissent*, the first recorded specimen of Robertson's ecclesiastical work, form a document which is regarded as the Moderate Manifesto, just as the *Answers to the Reasons of Dissent*, supposed to be the production of Dr. Webster, is regarded as the manifesto of the Popular Party. The Assembly of 1752 resolved that the Commission of March had exceeded its powers, and appointed the presbytery of Dunfermline to meet at Inverkeithing on the following Thursday to admit Mr. Richardson, that all the members

be present, that the quorum be five ministers, and that each of the ministers appear at the bar of the Assembly on Friday to give an account of his conduct. This decision was strongly dissented from by a large number of ministers. At the bar of the Assembly on Friday, Mr. James Thomson of Dunfermline told how he had gone to Inverkeithing on Thursday, and found Messrs. Liston of Aberdour, and Bathgate of Dalgety, but they being only three, and the Assembly having raised the quorum to five, they could not proceed. Six members of the presbytery presented a statement indicating that they felt that they could not take part in the settlement of Mr. Richardson knowing that this would have the effect of scattering the flock of Christ, and that such settlements must result in fatal consequences to our happy civil constitution. As they refused to recede from their statement, it was resolved that one of the six should be deposed, and this was carried by ninety-three votes to five. On the following day one vote each was given against Mr. Stark, Mr. Daling, Mr. Fernie, and Mr. Spence, and fifty-two against Mr. Gillespie of Carnock, one hundred and two members declining to vote. Mr. Gillespie was accordingly deposed from the office of the holy ministry, and prohibited from exercising the same or any part of it within this church in all time coming. The parish of Carnock was declared vacant from the day and date of the sentence. Mr. Gillespie listened to this sentence with gravity and respect, and answered—"Moderator, I desire to receive this sentence of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland pronounced against me with real concern, and awful impressions of the divine conduct in it; but I rejoice that to me it is given in behalf of Christ not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake."

It seems difficult to give any reason for the Assembly's singling out of Mr. Gillespie as their victim from among the six. Almost all the others had taken a more active part in the opposition to the Commission's injunction than he. He had probably fewer personal friends among the ministers of the church. As a divinity student he had gone to Mr.

Wilson's class in the Secession Hall at Perth, but stayed only ten days, as he was not satisfied with the principles of the Seceders. Thereafter he studied in England, and was licensed and ordained by English Dissenters, Dr. Doddridge being moderator. On his appointment to Carnock he had been allowed to sign the Confession of Faith and Formula, with an explanation of his views regarding the civil magistrate. He never occupied church or manse after his deposition, but he avoided saying anything against the church which had cast him out. Efforts were made to have him restored, and it was only by the small majority of three that the Assembly of 1753 refused to open the door for this good and loyal-hearted man's return.

A vacancy having occurred in the parish of Jedburgh in 1755, the elders resolved unanimously to stand together in an effort to secure a free election of a minister by the majority of the parishioners. The minister upon whom the choice of the people fell was Thomas Boston of Oxnam, son of the famous minister of Ettrick; but the patron gave the presentation to Mr. Bonar of Cockpen, grandson of another of the Marrow men, Bonar of Torphichen. When the presentee found how matters stood he withdrew, but the patron instead of yielding to the wishes of the people presented another who had no scruples in asserting his claims. The Assembly to whom the case was referred ordered the presbytery to proceed with the settlement of Mr. Douglas, though only five signatures to his call had been secured. The congregation proceeded to build a chapel; Mr. Boston demitted his charge, and accepted the call of the people of Jedburgh. Mr. Boston and Mr. Gillespie met at a communion service in Jedburgh, and in October, 1761, these two ministers along with two elders met at Colinsburgh in the parish of Kilconquhar, Fifeshire, where an unpopular presentee had been intruded on the people, and inducted Mr. Collier, an English Presbyterian, whom the dissenters had chosen as their minister. These three—Messrs. Gillespie, Boston, and Collier—thereupon constituted themselves into a *Presbytery of Relief*, for the relief of Christians

oppressed in their religious privileges. They were soon afterwards joined by Mr. Bain of Paisley, and they continued to grow in numbers and in influence. The *Relief Church* thus formed was from the first distinguished from the other seceders by their readiness to admit as occasional communicants members of other religious denominations, but in their evangelical sympathies and beliefs they were always closely related to their brethren who had gone out before them.

The Burgher denomination had meanwhile sustained a heavy loss through the death of their two great leaders, the Erskines. Mr. Ralph Erskine died at Dunfermline on 16th November, 1752, in his sixty-eighth year. He had served in the ministry for the long period of forty years, and had proved a faithful pastor and a useful preacher. He was a genial and thoroughly true-hearted man, and though now little read, his *Gospel Sonnets*, in which the truths of Scripture and of Christian experience were put into rhyme that is scarcely poetry, were remarkably popular in their day. His elder brother, Ebenezer, died on 2nd June, 1754, in his seventy-fourth year and in the fifty-first year of his ministry. He was the most powerful and popular preacher among all the Secession fathers. His only literary memorial consists of sermons posthumously published, but from these no adequate conception can be formed of that singular pulpit power to which his contemporaries give unequivocal testimony.

The Assembly of 1755 having had its attention called to the prevalence of infidelity and immorality by an overture in which the works of Lord Kames and David Hume were specially referred to, unanimously passed an Act in which abhorrence of such principles was expressed, and a recommendation was addressed to all ministers to be diligent in preventing the contagion of such views from spreading among those under their charge.

In January, 1757, the Presbytery of Edinburgh had before it the case of Mr. White of Liberton, who had attended the theatre to witness the representation of the

tragedy of "Douglas," written by Mr. Home of Athelstaneford. He pleaded that he had only gone once, and that he had endeavoured to conceal himself in a corner to avoid giving offence. He also expressed his deep sorrow for what he had done, and promised to be more careful and prudent in future. An effort was made to get him off with a simple rebuke, but it was resolved by a large majority that he should be suspended. His suspension, however, was restricted to the period of three weeks, but was duly and formally intimated by the moderator from the Liberton pulpit. The Edinburgh presbytery also called the attention of other six presbyteries to the conduct of members of these courts who had attended and encouraged the performances in the playhouse. In their letter to these presbyteries they call attention to the fact that in 1727 they had addressed an Admonition and Exhortation to those under their charge against countenancing the playhouse, and also that by a law passed in 1737 the acting of plays for hire and reward within the city or suburbs was expressly prohibited, that they had prosecuted and obtained convictions against breakers of the law, and that support given to those who sought to evade the law was most pernicious. The offenders were then named and the hope expressed that the matter would be considered and means taken for vindicating the credit and reputation of the holy ministry. All of the presbyteries rebuked those of their number who had offended, and with one exception, approved of the proceeding of the Edinburgh presbytery. The presbytery of Duns, while rebuking two of the members who had attended the play, wrote a most absurd letter charging the Edinburgh Presbytery with assuming a jurisdiction over other presbyteries to which they had no right. Mr. Home was duly cited by his presbytery of Haddington, but after some delay he tendered his resignation, which was accepted in June, 1757. The most interesting of all cases connected with this theatrical representation was the case of Carlyle of Inveresk before the presbytery of Dalkeith. The presbytery served a libel on Mr. Carlyle consisting of three articles, charging

him with frequenting the company of players who by their profession in the eye of the law are of bad fame, with attending a rehearsal of the tragedy "Douglas" and assisting or directing the players, and with appearing openly in the playhouse in the Canongate, within a few miles of his own parish, near to a university seat, and hard by that of Edinburgh, where he was known from having often preached there and assisted at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. It was further noted that the tragedy which was there performed encouraged the crime of suicide, contained dreadful oaths and mock prayers, so offensive that they had to be struck out in later representations. Mr. Carlyle gave a full report of what he had done, expressed his extreme sorrow for having given offence, and declared that had he known it would be so offensive, he would have been careful, as he resolved to be hereafter, to avoid it. He then pleaded that the libel should be withdrawn and the matter taken up as a question of privy censures. The presbytery proceeded with the libel and Mr. Carlyle appealed to the synod; the presbytery also referred the case to the synod so that it might go to the Assembly and secure the censure of a higher court upon the offender. The synod found fault with the presbytery for prosecuting the libel, but expressed high displeasure with Carlyle for what he had done and strictly enjoined him to abstain from such conduct in all time to come. Mr. Carlyle intimated that he received this censure with respect, was sorry for his offence and promised never to give trouble to any church court again on account of such conduct. The Assembly, on 24th May, 1757, affirmed the decision of the synod, and so the case ended.

On the 27th of May the Assembly considered overtures relating to the stage which had come up from the Glasgow presbytery and from the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. One overture, which extended the injunction not to attend the theatre to members of the church as well as ministers, was set aside, and the overture which was passed, while recommending presbyteries to take wise measures for preserving the purity and decorum of the ministerial character,

enjoins them to take care that none of the ministers of this church do, upon any occasion, attend the theatre.

The Secession was beginning already to tell seriously to the disadvantage of the Church of Scotland. In several parish churches the numbers attending the services were greatly reduced, and the contributions at the ordinary diets of worship were so diminished that they were no longer adequate to afford relief to the deserving poor. Up to 1755 there had been no fixed and continuous assessment for the poor in any Scottish parish; but from this time onward, because of the reduction in the weekly collections, mainly occasioned by the increase of secessions, it became necessary in most districts to have the parishes regularly assessed.

CHAPTER X.

*Ascendancy of the Moderates.**

1761—1796.

CONSIDERABLE excitement had arisen in the church and throughout the country over the publication of what were considered dangerous and sceptical doctrines in the writings especially of David Hume and Henry Home, Lord Kames. An attempt was made to deal with them by the presbytery of Edinburgh; but Hume was not a member of the church nor in any way under the jurisdiction of the presbytery, and Lord Kames, though a member and an elder of the church, could vindicate his position by reference to distinguished Calvinistic divines who had maintained the doctrine of philosophical necessity. In a much more effectual way than by church censures, the objectionable theories of such writers were met by exhaustive argumentative treatises on the subject under dispute from the orthodox point of view. Dr. George Campbell, principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, published in 1762 his *Dissertation on Miracles*, in answer to the doctrine of Hume as to the relative value of evidence from experience and from testimony. The author treats his subject in a thoroughly philosophical manner, and, very much in the way of those philosophers who came to be called the Scottish school, he examines the grounds of knowledge

* Literature :—Stewart, *Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertson, D.D.*, London, 1802 (in which is included a "Sketch of Principal Robertson's Ecclesiastical Policy" by Dr. Hill); Cook, *Life of George Hill, D.D., Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews*, Edin., 1820; *Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk*, ed. by J. Hill Burton, Edin., 1860; Sir H. Moncrieff Wellwood, *Life of Dr. John Erskine*, Edin., 1818.

and the principles of belief. Another still more distinguished philosophical writer arose within the Church of Scotland. Dr. Thomas Reid, who had been minister in New Machar in Aberdeenshire, was made professor of philosophy in Aberdeen in 1752, and was transferred to Glasgow in 1768, as successor to Adam Smith in the Moral Philosophy chair. He had been greatly stirred by Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature*, which drove him out of the Berkleian idealism which up till that time he had professed, and led him to elaborate and develop that doctrine of self-consciousness which presupposes principles working in the mind independent of our experience. These views he set forth in *An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*, published in 1764. The principles of this philosophy were afterwards brilliantly restated and expanded by Sir William Hamilton.

The progress of the Secession occasioned considerable anxiety to the leaders of the church, and accordingly an overture was transmitted to the General Assembly of 1765, calling attention to the spread of schism in the church and asking the Assembly to provide such remedies against this great evil as in their wisdom they may judge most proper. A committee was appointed to consider the overture and report to next Assembly. This committee reported that it was said that no fewer than one hundred and twenty meeting houses had been erected, and recommended that this be enquired into ; and also that, seeing the abuses of the right of patronage have been a chief occasion of secession, the Assembly be overtured to consider what means may be employed to remedy so great an evil ; and finally, that a committee be appointed to correspond with presbyteries and report. The Assembly of 1766, after a long debate, rejected the overture. The charge of schism was keenly resented by the Seceders. Adam Gib, the leader of the Anti-Burghers, maintained on behalf of all his brethren that they did not secede from the Church of Scotland, but only from the corruption which then prevailed in the church. "Let the Seceders," he says, "whom I am speaking of be once satisfied about proper entertainment being given to Christianity in

the Established Church, they will then most humbly crave to be entertained in her communion." In so speaking the Seceders showed that they had served themselves heirs to the best traditions of the Scottish Church, but how on these principles they could pass upon their brethren of the Burgher Synod, and still more arbitrarily on the members of the Reformed Presbytery, who were never within their jurisdiction, the Greater Excommunication, declaring them cast out of the communion of the church of Christ, to be regarded by all the faithful as heathens and publicans and delivered over to Satan, is one of those psychological puzzles produced by the inconsistencies and iniquities that blur the lives of good and conscientious men.

Within the Church of Scotland a new policy was inaugurated by Dr. William Robertson, who in 1672 was made principal of the University of Edinburgh. He had from the first been strongly opposed to granting any concessions to the scruples of presbyters who declined to implement the injunctions of the Assembly in cases of disputed settlement. His leadership of the Moderate party was characterized by the rigid enforcement of the law. Especially he insisted upon the supremacy of the General Assembly, and the absolute necessity of having its decisions carried out by the inferior courts. Under Dr. Robertson's administration the law of patronage received a regular and uniform support. There was distinctly this advantage in the new system of government, that the people knew exactly what to expect. The decisions in such cases previously had been uncertain, and were determined by no principle. Now the call was treated invariably as of no consequence, and on no account was the presentation of a patron set aside. It does indeed seem that the right of patronage and the people's right to give a call were absolutely inconsistent with one another, and yet they were both recognized by the law. In earlier years sometimes the one principle, sometimes the other, was given effect to; under Dr. Robertson's direction the one was consistently and invariably ignored.

Mr. Adam Gib, of Edinburgh, a leading member of the

Anti-Burgher synod, gave very considerable trouble to his brethren. In May, 1769, he brought forward an overture, in which he proposed to consolidate in one document as many as twenty separate Acts. This overture he intended as a vindication and justification of the Secession Testimony from the attempts to defame and destroy it made by those whom he called the separating brethren. But the principal act of doctrinal defection took its rise in the dissent by Mr. Thomas Mair of Orwell against statements in the overture on doctrine passed by the Anti-Burgher Synod in 1754 with reference to the extent of the atonement procured by Christ's death. Mr. Mair regarded these statements as directed against the book of Mr. Fraser of Brea, entitled *Justifying Faith*. In the following year Mr. Mair was suspended, and in April, 1757, as he still continued obdurate, he was deposed. In the following year the synod issued a pamphlet entitled *A Solemn Warning*. And though in 1766 and in 1767 Mr. Mair applied to be restored, his petition was refused because he declined to withdraw his dissent against the overture on doctrine. He desired the synod to rest satisfied with their authorised standards without adding the further burden of this overture; but they would not make this concession, and so Mr. Mair continued to live and work outside of the Anti-Burgher Synod. Mr. Gib, however, was by no means inclined to rest satisfied with what had thus been done. He brought forward his overture, and when the synod, after expressing their approval of its contents, declined to pass it on the ground that there was no special necessity for it being issued at that time, he absented himself from all meetings of synod, and it was only in 1780 that he agreed to forget all personal grievances and to resume his place among his brethren.

Dr. Robertson's management of church affairs was extolled by many of his contemporaries and immediate successors, but by more recent critical historians of the church and period, it has been almost unanimously condemned. His churchmanship may be compared to the statesmanship

of Strafford. In church and state the "thorough" method is extremely simple, and for a certain period the administration, backed up by the required majority, carried everything before him. The period, however, can in no case be very long, and the longer it lasts the greater is the accumulation of evils and grievances for which a reckoning must be paid. The method triumphs only by the use of brute force. Reluctant presbyters were driven to violate their consciences under dread of the infliction of professional and pecuniary loss, and a resisting people, if they carried their resistance dangerously far, were either held in check by the presence of police and soldiers, or violently thrust back by the officers of the law, while men whom they were resolved never to recognise were being ordained as ministers in those churches in which they had been wont to listen to the preaching of God's word. Every forced settlement was a victory which brought all the disasters of a defeat. Several of the cases of violent intrusion of unpopular presentees were of a kind which not only drove into revolt the particular individuals who felt themselves grievously wronged, but also loosened the feeling of attachment to the Church of Scotland among the people throughout the country generally. It is surprising and disappointing to find even such an ordinarily fair and liberal minded man as Sir H. Wellwood Moncrieff, in his *Life of Dr. John Erskine*, commending the churchmanship of Robertson, even to the extent of approving of his support of the annual appeal for the abrogation of patronage as a sop to the popular agitators, though on the part of the petitioner there was no wish that the terms of his petition should be listened to. The crookedness of such policy is now regarded as its severest condemnation. The people, however, were not deceived by the sham petition, but rather irritated by the mockery and evident insincerity of the whole proceeding.

A good illustration of the treatment to which the people of Scotland were subjected, and the ruinous effects which such treatment produced, may be found in the history of the St. Ninians case. In 1767 an aged and infirm man,

Mr. David Thomson of Gargunnoch, was presented to the parish of St. Ninians. In his earlier years he had a good record as an orthodox and evangelical preacher. He had been minister of the English Reformed Church first at Amsterdam and then at Rotterdam, and had been for some years in Gargunnoch. He had been a respected friend and correspondent of Dr. John Erskine. Only a few episcopals and non-resident heritors, friends of the patron, could be got to sign the call, while all resident heritors, with all the elders and people were actively and vehemently opposed. By one means or another the presbytery delayed settlement for seven years, but the obstinacy of patron and presentee frustrated all attempts at compromise or conciliation. At last the Assembly of 1773 commanded the presbytery of Stirling to proceed to the settlement without delay, ordering all the members of the presbytery to be present on the occasion. On the day appointed the presbytery met at St. Ninians, and Mr. Findlay of Dollar, the Moderator, presided. After praise and prayer, instead of preaching a sermon as is usual, Mr. Findlay at once called upon Mr. Thomson to stand up, and, without any preliminaries, addressed him as follows:—"Sir, we have met here this day in obedience to the General Assembly to admit you minister of St. Ninians. There has been a formidable opposition made against you by six hundred heads of families, sixty heritors, and all the elders of the parish except one. The opposition has continued for seven years by your own obstinacy; and if you should this day be admitted you can have no pastoral relation to the souls of the parish; you will never be regarded as the shepherd to go before the sheep, they know you not and they will never follow you. You will draw misery and contempt upon yourself, you will be despised, you will be hated, you will be insulted and maltreated. One of the most eloquent and learned ministers of the church told me lately that he would go twenty miles to see you deposed; and I do assure you, Sir, that I and twenty thousand more, friends to our church, would do the same. In the course of this opposition your

conduct and behaviour has been altogether unworthy and unbecoming a minister of the gospel. You maintained a good character and reputation till your unhappy and obstinate adherence to this presentation. Now bending under the weight of years and infirmities of old age, what happiness can you propose to yourself, in this mad, this desperate attempt of yours, without the concurrence of the people, and without the least prospect of usefulness in this parish? Your admission into it, therefore, can only be regarded as a sinecure, and you yourself as stipend lifter of St. Ninians; for you can have no further relation to this parish. Now, Sir, I conjure you by the mercies of God, give up this presentation. I conjure you, for the sake of the great number of souls of St. Ninians, who are like sheep going astray without a shepherd to lead them, and who will never have you, will never submit to you, give it up. I conjure you by that peace of mind which you would wish in a dying hour, and that awful and impartial account which in a little you must give to God of your own soul and of the souls of this parish at the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ, give it up." This address, which expressed in very direct and plain language what most of the audience must have had in their minds, had been listened to with breathless excitement. Every eye was now fixed on the man who had placed himself in so miserable a position. He alone seemed to have preserved an appearance, outwardly at least, of cool indifference. He simply answered: "I forgive you, Sir, for what you have now said; may God forgive you; proceed to obey the orders of your superiors." Mr. Findlay at once, without putting to him the questions usually asked of those who are being inducted into the ministry of a congregation, addressed the presentee:—"I, as moderator of the presbytery, admit you, Mr. David Thomson, to be minister of the parish of St. Ninians, in the true sense and spirit of the late sentence of the General Assembly, and you are hereby admitted accordingly."

Such a conclusion to a long-drawn out case like this, following as it did upon such instances of violent intrusion,

under the protection of military escorts, as those of Shotts and Eaglesham, which took place since the St. Ninians dispute began, did more to help and encourage the cause of the Secession than any propaganda carried on outside of the church. The Moderate policy as enunciated by Robertson was also popularly charged with a leniency in its treatment of moral delinquents proportionate to the severity and rigidity of its assertion of the rights of the patron. In maintaining the claims of presentations against all manner of objections to the presentee, there was undoubtedly a danger of becoming unconsciously inclined to minimise the importance of defects or deficiencies of a moral, as well as of an intellectual and spiritual, kind. But the principle upon which Robertson acted, who was himself a man of high principle and irreproachable character, was that of requiring in every judicial process the same precision and attention to the laws of evidence as is insisted upon in courts of law. If there was a legal flaw in the process, he would rather let a culprit escape than have him convicted under conditions that would not have secured a conviction before one of his Majesty's judges. That some scandalous offenders were allowed to escape through what seemed no better than a legal quibble, and that others on conviction received very inadequate sentences, and that these proceedings looked suspicious as the acts of a party so strict and severe in its enforcement of the law of patronage, were facts which no one can deny. It was also charged against the Moderate policy that it failed to encourage and promote orthodox teaching and evangelical religion. It should, indeed, be remembered that there were several instances of individuals who were decided Moderates in matters of church policy, and yet warmly evangelical in their doctrine and preaching. But it is undoubtedly true that during the Moderate régime under Robertson, views inclining more or less to Socinianism were proclaimed from many of the parish pulpits, and the characteristic doctrines of the church standards were criticised or sneered at with impunity. The sermons, again, of a large section of those who formed the

immediate following of the great ecclesiastical leader were defective rather than positively heterodox, consisting of ethical essays in which the essential doctrines of Christianity had no place. The most popular of all the preachers of that school was Dr. Hugh Blair, minister of the High Church in Edinburgh and professor of Rhetoric in the University. He was a man of no critical acuteness or originality of thought, and his sermons, highly commended by Johnson and other critics of that age for their polished style, are mere moral essays inculcating the common virtues, with scarcely any savour of doctrinal or experimental truth. Yet even those who preached what was practically Socinian doctrine, and those who avoided all definite statements as to the divinity of Christ and His atoning work, not only signed the Westminster Confession of Faith, but made no public demand for any relaxation of subscription. There was now, however, a considerable uneasiness among the more advanced members of that school, and many were privately expressing themselves in favour of some modification of the formula. Dr. Robertson was determinedly opposed to any movement of this kind, and it is thought that his resignation of the leadership in 1780, when he was still in full vigour physically and intellectually, was largely caused by his unwillingness to lead in this direction those with whom he had been accustomed to associate.

Among the theologians to whom the training of students for the ministry among the Seceders had been entrusted, the first who calls for special mention, on account of his genius and scholarship, is Dr. John Brown of Haddington. The difficulties in the way of his obtaining an elementary education were very great, and in large measure he was in the strictest sense of the word self-taught. At the time when he was entering the Divinity Hall, his scholarly attainments were so remarkable, that one of the presbyters, not emancipated from the prejudices of vulgar superstition, objected to him on the ground that such learning could only have been acquired by the help of the devil. Ralph Erskine answered on the young man's behalf: "I think the lad has a sweet

savour of Christ about him." He was ordained as Burgher minister at Haddington in 1751, and is said to have begun his studies at four or five o'clock in the morning and continued till eight o'clock at night. He was an able and instructive preacher and a faithful pastor. "That is the man for me," said David Hume, after hearing Brown, "he means what he says ; he speaks as if Jesus Christ was at his elbow." In 1768 he was appointed professor, and honourably occupied this position for twenty years till he died in 1787. His *Dictionary of the Bible* (1769), though not characterized by any particular freshness or critical power, was a useful work in its day, and he was long known in the pious homes of Scotland as the author of *The Self-Interpreting Bible* (1778).

A very curious little controversy disturbed the Anti-Burgher Synod in 1782 and during the following years. An aged and much respected minister, Mr. David Smyton of Kilmaurs, was one of those who in the administration of the Lord's Supper were accustomed solemnly to lift the elements in their hands before the consecration prayer, and a second time after that prayer when they gave them to the communicants. This was the prevailing order observed, but some ministers, of whom Adam Gib was one, did not "lift" before the prayer. Mr. Smyton, considering this ritual a matter of importance, and anxious to secure uniformity of practice, brought up the question in the Glasgow presbytery, and that court referred for advice to the Synod. Very sensible advice was given by the Synod to the effect that the question was one on which mutual forbearance should be shown, and when the presbytery acquiesced in and recommended obedience to the advice of the Synod, Mr. Smyton appealed again to the Synod. He regarded the toleration granted as a wound to their testimony and as a laying aside of the command and example of our Lord in the administration of the solemn ordinance of the Supper. Several congregations and sessions interested themselves in the question and supported Mr. Smyton in his contention. In addition to their former advice to practice mutual forbearance, the Synod now rebuked the appellants for attempting to impose their

judgment on others and exhorted them to guard against reflections upon others whose practice in this matter was different from their own. As the Synod of 1783 would not reverse the judgment in favour of mutual forbearance, Mr. Smyton renounced the authority of the Synod, and at a subsequent diet he was suspended from the exercise of his ministry. In the following year a petition came before the Synod from a Glasgow congregation asking for a review of their act of forbearance. To this a careful and detailed answer, explaining the meaning of that decision, was given, and the controversy gradually ceased to interest and excite the churches.

The tendency towards Socinianism which had prevailed among the ministers belonging to the Moderate party in the church during this period assumed in some cases a very open and offensive form. Ministers who simply preached such doctrines from their pulpits or omitted from their delivered sermons all reference to the distinctive truths of Christianity, might be currently spoken of as Socinianizing or moralizing, but there was ordinarily in such circumstances nothing tangible upon which any objection might be built in constructing a specific charge of heresy. It was quite a different matter when the heretical preacher had the temerity to print and publish his discourses, or to compose and issue a dissertation. In 1786 Dr. William M'Gill, one of the ministers of Ayr, published a book entitled, *A Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ*. The work is in itself of no importance as a literary performance or as a theological discussion. It was of interest on its appearance simply as a bold and offensive manifesto of a party in the church which seemed to think itself strong enough to flaunt its heresies before a feeble and uninfluential minority who clung to the antiquated views of the so-called standards of the church. The doctrine of Christ taught in this essay is purely Arian. He is not equal with the Father, but one of our own order, invested with authority by God for the discharge of the duties of a special office. The atonement is explained in a purely Socinian fashion. Christ's death is not substitution-

ary, the description of his office as a priesthood and his death as a sacrifice is purely figurative, he came to reveal to us in his life the rule of our obedience and to assure us of God's acceptance of us if we repented and undertook sincerely to render obedience. The presbytery of Ayr refused to take up the case at the command of the Synod, but afterwards agreed to do so on the recommendation of the the Assembly, a committee was appointed which brought a charge of heresy under five heads against Dr. M'Gill, and the whole case was referred to the Synod which met in April, 1790. The trial was regarded by the *New Light* party as that not of an individual but of the whole school. Recourse was had to all sorts of manœuvres in order to secure an acquittal, or at least to avoid the condemnation of any of the particular statements which had been styled heretical. At last Dr. M'Gill submitted an explanation of a vague and general description, in which, while protesting the goodness of his intentions and the purely practical character of the essay, he withdrew nothing and scarcely modified any statement. This was accepted and approved of by the Synod, with the little more than murmured disapproval of two or three members. An ineffectual attempt was made by some evangelical ministers to get the case reopened in the following year, and throughout the country this decision of the Synod gave occasion to deep dissatisfaction and weakened the confidence of many in the sincerity of the professions of those within the church who claimed to be evangelical.

The teachings of the minister of Ayr may be regarded as affording a fair sample of the matter and method of the preaching of a large number of the ministers of the Established Church in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Religion throughout the country was at a low ebb. Even those within the church who were reckoned evangelical had little sympathy with or appreciation of anything that could be called aggressive work. Scarcely anything was done in the way of attempting the reclamation of the masses in the large cities who had drifted away from attendance on ordinances, and who had given up even the outward form

of religion. In regard to Foreign Missions, the Church of Scotland had taken no step. A society of earnest men, without the church's imprimatur, had organised in 1709 a Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which in 1744 sent David Brainerd to labour among certain tribes of American Indians. The Seceders had also done something in the way of meeting the needs of our colonists in New England, and other parts. They objected, however, to the constitution of missionary societies because in their boards laymen, who had not been set apart to rule in the church, were allowed to judge of the qualifications of missionary agents.

In the Assembly of 1796, overtures in favour of something being done by the church toward the diffusion of the gospel over the world, were presented from the synods of Fife and Moray. Dr. John Erskine of Edinburgh and Dr. Balfour of Glasgow were presidents of missionary societies in their respective cities, and the members of the evangelical party were for the most part anxious that some step of a definite character should be taken. The Moderates, however, stood firmly together in their opposition to the movement. Mr. Hamilton, Dr. Robertson's successor in Gledsmuir, moved the rejection of the overtures, and was fitly seconded by Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk. While admitting generally that the diffusion of the knowledge of the gospel was a good thing and that it should be prayed for, Mr. Hamilton contended that to attempt to spread the knowledge of Christianity among barbarous and heathen nations was highly preposterous, as a reversing of the order of nature. Men, he said, must be polished and refined in their manners before they can be properly enlightened in religious truths; philosophy and learning must in the nature of things take the precedence. He eulogised the simple virtues of the untutored Indian, and declared that the engrafting of our religion upon him would not refine his morals or ensure his happiness. But even if a civilised heathen nation were found, Mr. Hamilton would object to missionary expenditure so long as there remains at home a

single individual without the means of religious knowledge. Dr. Hill proposed a similar but more cautiously drafted motion, which was accepted by his party. Dr. John Erskine then rose, and addressing the clerk, said, "Rax me that Bible." Having read from the Acts of the Apostles the narrative of Paul's intercourse with the barbarians of Melita, he asked, could any one suppose that he failed to take advantage of his opportunity to tell them the story of Christ and His salvation. The evangelical leader moved that the overtures be considered and action taken in the direction suggested by them. The motion for the rejection of the overtures, however, was carried by a vote of fifty-eight against forty-four.

During this period little attention seems to have been paid to the devotional part of the public services of the church. The prayer was usually of inordinate length, and given in the form of one continuous, unbroken supplicatory address. In a large number of churches there was but one portion of scripture read, and that often only a very short passage. As to the service of praise, the singing was that of the metrical psalms, the use of which had been sanctioned by the Assembly. The authorised metrical version of the Psalms, the same as that presently in use in the Scottish Presbyterian Churches, was based upon the rendering of Francis Rous, a member of Cromwell's parliament. Almost every stanza, however, had been more or less altered by the introduction of renderings from the versions of Zachary Boyd and Mure of Rowallan. Many of the leaders of culture in the church began to think that the version in use was too rugged in form and antiquated in expression. Accordingly Sir Walter Scott and other men of taste were consulted as to the propriety of endeavouring to secure a smoother versification and more modern finish for their psalm version. Scott, however, dissuaded them from the attempt, as he deemed mere elegance a poor exchange for the force and rude majesty of the old rendering.

In addition to the Book of Psalms, a selection of sacred songs in the form of Translations and Paraphrases was

gradually coming into use. A committee appointed in 1742 prepared a collection, which was printed in 1745. The troubles connected with the Jacobite Rebellion prevented attention being given to these matters, and so practically nothing more was done until, in 1781, a committee reported to the Assembly, which, acting on the Committee's recommendation, ordered these Translations and Paraphrases to be transmitted to the several presbyteries, in order that they might report their opinion of them to the ensuing General Assembly. In the meantime it was announced that ministers would be allowed to make use of this collection of sacred poems in the public services of the church wherever they might find it for edification. The Assembly also ordered the printing of the collection for the consideration of presbyteries and for public use. Considerable alterations were made upon the earliest edition of 1745, and it has been suggested that smoothness in most cases was secured at the cost of vigour and spirituality. "Upon the whole," says Dr. Julian, in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*, "the collection is hardly what might have been expected from the gifts and graces of the ministers of the Church of Scotland from 1741 to 1751." No subsequent Assembly ever resumed the discussion with regard to the Paraphrases, except in the way of making arrangements with the printer; and so the use of the collection simply rests upon what was meant as a temporary permission, while the collection itself has never been formally authorized.

CHAPTER XI.

*Voluntary and Non-Intrusion Controversies.**

1797—1843.

THE immediate result of the coldness of the Moderate majority in the Church of Scotland and of the narrowness and suspiciousness of the Seceders was to encourage and open a field for earnest Christian workers who were not restricted or restrained by any such trammels. During the summer of 1796 the famous evangelical preacher, Charles Simeon of Cambridge, made a holiday trip through the Highlands of Scotland, preaching as he had opportunity and distributing religious tracts wherever he went. Although we have no record of any definite fruits of the wayside labours of this evangelist, there can be no doubt that godly people would be stirred up to a higher sense of their Christian duty and that they would see the way pointed out along which they should seek to promote the evangelisation of their country.

* Literature :—M'Crie, *Statement of the Difference between the Profession of the Reformed Church of Scotland as adopted by Seceders and that of the New Testimony of General Associate Synod, particularly on power of Civil Magistrates respecting Religion*, Edin. 1807 (re-printed 1832 and 1871); Inglis, *Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments*, Edin., 1834; Wardlaw, *National Establishments Examined*, London, 1839; Scott, *Annals and Statistics of Original Secession Church*, Edin., 1886; Ross, *A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland*, Glasgow, 1900; Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of the Haldanes*, Edin., 1852; Oliphant, *Life of Edward Irving*, London, 1862; Story, *Life of Robert Story of Rosneath*, London, 1862; Hanna, *Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers*, Edin., 1852; Buchanan, *The Ten Years' Conflict*, Glasgow, 1852; Bayne, *The Free Church of Scotland, its Origin, Founders, and Testimony*, Edin., 1893; Lord Cockburn's *Journal*, (1831-1843) 2 vols., Edin., 1874.

Most important of all was the influence exerted on James Haldane, who was his travelling companion throughout this tour. The brothers Haldane for at least twenty or thirty years from this date onward were the central movers in a great spiritual revival.

The Haldanes, sons of the laird of the beautiful Perthshire estate of Airthrey, were sailors, Robert an officer of the Royal Navy, James the commander of a ship in the East India Company's service. Some years before this both brothers had become earnest and devout Christians, and having withdrawn from their profession, and being possessed of abundant means, they resolved to dedicate their lives to the service of God and the spread of the gospel. In the Assembly of 1796 men who never raised a finger to help in carrying the knowledge of Christ to the neglected and ignorant at home made the existence of such persons an excuse for vehemently denouncing the proposal to do something for the savage and superstitious heathen. On the contrary, we find the Haldanes just as warmly interested in the one cause as in the other, enthusiastic in their devotion to the work alike in the Foreign Mission and in the Home Mission field. When Robert Haldane sold his paternal estate, in order to have at his disposal the means for carrying on the Christian work and maintaining the Christian agencies which he had planned, it was his intention to devote himself to the work of God in India. Dr. Bogue, a Presbyterian minister at Gosport and Mr. Greville Ewing, one of the chapel ministers of Edinburgh, had agreed to join him in his enterprise. This door, however, was shut upon them by the refusal of the East India Company to allow Christian missionaries to enter their territories. "Rather a troop of devils," said an enlightened director, who no doubt called himself, and expected to be called by others, a Christian. His interest in the heathen had not made Robert Haldane indifferent to the claims of the ignorant and vicious at home. So soon as he found India closed against him, he turned his attention to the religious condition of Scotland, and he and his brother found here their life work.

It would seem that Robert Haldane had a wonderful faculty for organizing and also for imparting religious instruction by means of conferences and conventions. James Haldane was the preacher, and in company with other like minded men, he travelled from place to place, and, especially in districts where the semi-Socinianism of the *New Light* party was being proclaimed from the pulpit, he addressed the people in the open air in a warm evangelical style that was in too many parts of our country at that time altogether strange and new. This itinerant work was carried on for many years, and in many remote and spiritually neglected parishes and villages chapels were built and independent ministers installed. It is said that in fifteen years Robert Haldane had spent somewhere about £70,000 on the carrying out of this work, and somewhere about £20,000 more in the training and equipping of men to serve as ministers in the chapels which he had built. Alongside of these chapels, and often in places where no chapels had been erected, Sabbath schools were opened, and thus throughout the land Christian work of a warmly evangelical character was vigorously prosecuted among young and old.

The increase in immorality and crime in various parts of the country was now being observed with alarm, and the attention which this called forth to the condition of the people revealed the terrible spiritual destitution which prevailed, especially in cities and in the more populous towns and villages. Local circumstances led to the sudden gathering of a considerable population in what had been a remote and sparsely peopled corner of a large parish. The church and manse were many miles away, and the people were growing up without spiritual instruction or guidance of any kind. In many cases such communities were realising the disadvantages of their position, and were crying out to the church for help. Several presbyteries overtured the Assembly year after year in favour of a scheme for erecting Chapels of Ease in populous parishes, in which, without separating from the Church of Scotland, those who could not conveniently worship in the parish church might enjoy the

preaching of a minister of their own and have the administration of ordinances and other privileges, under the supervision of the parish minister and his session. At last, on the report of a committee, which had been appointed to enquire into the subject, the presbyteries were consulted under the terms of the Barrier Act, but as only thirty presbyteries approved of the proposal, while there were thirty-four which disapproved, the overture was rejected by the Assembly of 1797. It was, however, by a more than doubtful straining of the constitution, re-transmitted to presbyteries, a majority of which now voted in favour of the overture, so that in 1798 it was passed into a law of the church. The evangelical party, which was warmly in favour of the general movement, opposed this particular overture mainly on account of a provision in it to this effect, that no presbytery should pronounce judgment on any petition in favour of sanctioning a Chapel of Ease until they have first obtained special directions from the Assembly in regard to the particular case. This was resented by presbyteries as an infringement of their constitutional rights. Besides, it is evident that the presbytery must of necessity be much better able to judge of the spiritual needs of a district within its bounds than the members of Assembly who have no such local knowledge. This clause in the Act was evidently suggested by the suspicion that in some cases a presbytery, sympathising with a section of the parishioners disaffected toward their minister, might sanction the erection of a chapel to relieve tension in a disturbed and distracted parish. Apart from this clause, no doubt the Act could be wrought by the evangelical majority of a presbytery so as to secure evangelical preaching for those who desired it in a parish presided over by a Moderate and Socinianizing minister. If the Assembly had been far-seeing enough, it might not have refused to leave this power in the hands of presbyteries.

Meanwhile, outside of the Church of Scotland, the Haldanes and others were seeking to promote the interests of evangelical religion, and preaching, though in a somewhat narrow spirit, a simple and straightforward gospel message.

A large building, called *The Tabernacle*, was erected in Edinburgh by Robert Haldane for his brother James, and in the summer of 1798 it was opened for worship by Rowland Hill. This eccentric and popular evangelist was in deacon's orders in the Church of England, and was minister of Surrey Chapel, London, which he had built at his own cost. While at Oxford he had come under the influence of Whitefield and the Wesleys. He put no restraint upon himself in the pulpit, and his odd sayings and humorous sallies not only gave great offence to the staid and sober presbyterians of Scotland, but also caused him to occupy an almost isolated position in his own church. While in Scotland he preached in various places during the week, sometimes in parish churches, sometimes in the open air. On one occasion he addressed a huge assemblage on the Calton Hill. He formed a very unfavourable opinion of the religious state of the Scottish people, and in his *Journal*, published on his return home, he inveighed in severe and unmeasured terms against the false and defective doctrine preached in parish church pulpits, and against the narrowness and bigotry manifested by the Seceders. Such sweeping charges as these were bitterly resented by those against whom they were made.

The Haldanes had begun their cry against what they regarded as the soul-destroying errors of the preaching current in the National Church. Rowland Hill was supposed to have got a good deal of his information from them. Throughout the country a serious amount of irritation had been occasioned, and in some parishes separations had taken place and independent conventicles established. Complaints were made of certain ministers encouraging and giving the use of their pulpits to those evangelists who were causing trouble and division in the congregations of their brethren. That charges of this description were numerous and came from all parts of the country is made perfectly evident from this, that on the report of them to the Assembly of 1799 that court suddenly proceeded to what can only be described as panic legislation. The Assembly not only issued a Pastoral Letter

warning the people against unauthorized preachers who might come among them, but passed an Act which prohibited the ministers of the church from opening their pulpits to any others than the licentiates and ministers of the church, and debarred them from holding ministerial communion with any such unauthorized persons. That some restriction as to the parties who might have the use of the parish pulpit given them was desirable cannot well be questioned. It is quite evident that some excitable and injudicious minister might give his pulpit to unqualified and unworthy men, who might so abuse their opportunity as to bring reproach upon the church and upon the cause of religion. That something needed to be done in this direction was felt, not only in the Church of Scotland, but also among the Seceders and in the Relief Church. The Anti-Burghers went so far as to prohibit their members going to hear any preacher not of their own body, and actually deposed a minister who had listened to Rowland Hill and James Haldane. The legislation was evidently of a much too sweeping character, and was found to be such a bondage that it had subsequently to be modified.

During several years the Burgher Synod had been occupied with discussions as to the teaching of the Confession of Faith with regard to the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. Disputes arose as to whether the question was one on which forbearance might be shown at least until some decision was come to by the Synod. Several of the brethren opposed the idea even of temporary forbearance, but it was resolved to modify the Formula in such a way as would make it evident that no countenance was given to any persecution or coercion in matters of faith, and that while they maintain the obligation of the Covenants on posterity they do not interfere with the question of the nature and kind of that obligation. A minority protested against this decision and left the Synod, and in October, 1799, founded a separate presbytery. They assumed the name of *The Associate Presbytery*, but were popularly known as *The Old Light* or *Original Burghers*. Before

the end of the year the Presbytery embraced eight clerical members. In the year 1805 the membership of the denomination had so increased that a Synod—the Original Associate (Burgher) Synod—was formed, consisting of three presbyteries and embracing fifteen ministers.

There had always existed a very close connection between the University of Edinburgh and the Edinburgh Presbytery. Several of the city ministers were professors in the university. When a minister was a candidate for a chair in opposition to a lay scholar he might ordinarily count upon the hearty and influential support of his co-presbyters. In 1805 Professor Playfair had been appointed to the chair of Natural Philosophy, and so the professorship of Mathematics was vacant. Mr. MacKnight, one of the ministers of Edinburgh and a member of the Moderate party, was a candidate, but he had a formidable rival in the person of Mr. John Leslie. This distinguished man of science had begun his divinity studies in the Edinburgh Hall, but had broken them off in order to give his whole attention to scientific pursuits. He had engaged in tutorial work in America and London, had translated part of Buffon's Natural History and invented several ingenious and useful scientific instruments. He had written in 1804 an epoch-making work entitled *An Experimental Inquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat*, and for this the Royal Society had presented him with a medal. He was now in his fortieth year and his reputation was clearly well established. The Moderate party in the church, however, had pledged themselves to support Mr. MacKnight, and as Mr. Leslie's claims as a man of science were out of all comparison superior to those of their candidate, they had to look about for some charge that would seriously damage the prestige of his rival. This they found in the ever convenient cry of heresy. In his treatise on *Heat*, Mr. Leslie had referred to Hume's theory of causation as most philosophical, and the attempt was made, in spite of Leslie's protests, to make him responsible for the whole sceptical system of the philosopher. By their statement of the extreme contrary doctrine of an active operating principle

in the cause, the ministers laid themselves open to a charge of heretical tendencies at least as dangerous as that which they condemned. Notwithstanding the remonstrance of the presbytery, the Town Council appointed Leslie to the chair. The *Remonstrance* of the Presbytery was carried before the Assembly of 1806. The moderates supported it, the evangelicals repudiated it, and as an elder Dugald Stewart addressed the Assembly in an impassioned speech in behalf of Leslie. In the end it was resolved not to entertain the *Remonstrance*, and so it was dismissed by a vote of ninety-six against eighty-four. The reputation of the Moderates was severely damaged by their unprincipled partisanship shown in this case. They had hitherto posed as the patrons of liberal culture, and now, oblivious to all their past professions, they sought to damage a good man by raising the odious cry of heresy simply in order to further the interests of one of their own party.

In the Anti-Burgher Synod discussions as to the civil magistrate's right of interference in matters of religion were begun in 1791 by the presentation of two overtures on the subject. After protracted meetings of Synod and Committees, a *Testimony and Narrative* was drafted, and this document, when printed, filled no less than two hundred octavo pages. For eight years this ponderous work was under the consideration of the Synod, paragraph by paragraph it was carefully examined, and each minute point in it was looked at from every conceivable point of view, doctrinal and historical. In regard to the civil magistrate they took a more decided attitude than had ever before been taken on this subject. They condemned the relation between church and state, and assumed the position of out and out voluntaries. The church, they say, is a spiritual kingdom, the members spiritual persons, and the same character belongs to her doctrines, ordinances, and office-bearers. The rulers of worldly kingdoms can have no spiritual power, and while the church seeks the salvation of sinners, civil government only seeks the temporal good of civil society. Neither of these kingdoms has power over the other.

Christian magistrates have no power to give laws to the church, to appoint her office-bearers or dictate to them in the discharge of their office, to prescribe a Confession of Faith, or form of worship, to the church, or their subjects in general. In matters purely religious, civil rulers have no right to judge for any but themselves. In May, 1804, this *Narrative and Testimony* was adopted, and five members, including the celebrated Dr. Thomas M'Crie, entered their protest. When the Synod met at Glasgow in August, 1806, the five protesting brethren met at Whitburn, the residence of Professor Bruce, one of their number. They formally constituted themselves a presbytery, under the designation of *The Constitutional Associate Presbytery*. In stating the grounds of their separation they complain that "particularly, the duty and warrantableness of civil rulers employing their authority in an active support of the interests of religion and the kingdom of Christ, and in promoting reformation, are by the new deeds set aside." Mr. Whytock of Dalkeith died before the presbytery was constituted, and Mr. Hog of Kelso soon after, but Mr. Chalmers of Haddington having joined them, there were still four ministers members of the new denomination. All these ministers were deposed by the Anti-Burgher Synod. The Seceders had thus definitely and clearly taken up what is now ordinarily called the *Voluntary* position, and the adoption of it cost them the loss of only five ministers, with a small following of their people.

It is curious to find in this small protesting community, as one of the keenest and most determined of the party, one who was almost immediately to secure a reputation to himself as perhaps the very ablest writer and the most painstaking historian in any of the Scottish Churches. In the *Christian Magazine*, of which he was editor during 1805 and the following years, Mr. Thomas M'Crie had written a large number of historical papers, chiefly illustrative of the lives and labours of Reformers on the Continent and in England and Scotland; and he continued to contribute similar articles to the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*,

begun in 1810 under the editorship of Dr. Andrew Thomson. In 1811 he published his *Life of John Knox*, for the writing of which he had prepared himself by a very careful study of all the sources, whether printed or in manuscript, that were then available. It at once arrested the attention of all literary circles and was everywhere most favourably received. It is, perhaps, the highest tribute which can be paid to this great work to say that, in the opinion of some of the soundest and most careful critics, even the great work of Dr. Hume Brown by no means supersedes that of Dr. M'Crie, and that those two works must be classed and read together as the two standard biographies of our great Scottish Reformer. The University of Edinburgh recognised his ability by conferring upon him in 1813 the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His other great work, the *Life of Andrew Melville*, published in 1819, is in some respects an abler work and a more important contribution to the ecclesiastical history of Scotland than his earlier treatise. His *Melville*, however, has never attained to the same popularity as his *Knox*. There is, undoubtedly, much in the history of Knox that appeals more powerfully to the popular imagination, than the somewhat scholastic formalism which characterizes a good many of the episodes in the life of the later reformer and scholar. In the interval between the appearance of these two great works, Dr. M'Crie had, in the *Christian Instructor* for 1817, made a brilliant and thoroughly successful defence of the Covenanters against the caricatures and exaggerations of Sir Walter Scott in *Old Mortality*.

In the early years of presbyterianism in Scotland one clergyman sometimes held several livings, officiating himself in one and discharging his duties in the others by means of curates. And during the eighteenth century it was a very common thing for a city minister to hold a professorship in the university, and in some cases the university professor was minister of a parish at some distance from his ordinary residence. When Mr. George Hill, professor of Greek in St. Andrews University, was appointed minister of one of

the city churches in 1779, some objection was raised, and overtures against pluralities were sent up to the Assembly. These overtures were dismissed, and though there was a good deal of grumbling over the subject, no very serious attempt was made for many years to deal with this evil. The church was roused to a sense of her duty by certain rather aggravated cases that occurred in the early years of the new century. In 1800 Dr. Arnot, professor of divinity in St. Andrews, was presented to a parish six miles distant from the city. One of the professors in Edinburgh University was at the same time minister of Moffat. In 1813 Mr. Ferrie, professor of civil history in St. Andrews University, was presented to the parish of Kilconquhar, twelve miles distant from his residence. On his refusing to resign his professorship the presbytery refused to admit him to the charge, but the Assembly, on appeal, by a majority of five reversed the decision of the presbytery. Thomas Chalmers had himself lectured in St. Andrews while minister of Kilmany. In 1813 he thought and felt differently. Many of the more earnest-minded ministers declared that their parochial work required all their attention, and that the holding of plural offices should be pronounced illegal. The Assembly of 1814 passed an act declaring the holding of an office by a minister that required his absence from his parish inconsistent with the constitution of the church. The opponents of the measure refused to regard it as a mere Declaratory Act, and so at last, after considerable agitation, the Assembly of 1817, an overture to that effect having been approved by a great majority of presbyteries, passed an Act declaring that no professor can be allowed to hold a parish unless it is quite near the university seat. Those opposed to pluralities, however, were not satisfied with this measure of success. They now resolved to have them done away with altogether. In 1823 a case occurred which brought this question to a point. Dr. Macfarlane, principal of Glasgow University, was presented to the High Church of that city. Dr. M'Gill, professor of divinity, and Dr. Chalmers, then one of the city ministers, vigorously opposed the appointment. It was

pointed out that such a parish required a minister's undivided and undistracted attention. The presbytery decided that it was inexpedient and incompetent to proceed to the settlement, but the Assembly of 1824, to which Dr. Macfarlane appealed, reversed the decision of the presbytery and ordered the admission of the presentee. Overtures were sent up, but Assembly after Assembly threw them out. At last the University Commission decided that such a union of offices should not be allowed.

The subject of Foreign Missions, which had been so summarily dismissed by the Moderates in 1796, was taken up in the Assembly of 1824, and vigorously and successfully advocated by Dr. John Inglis, a member of the same ecclesiastical party. The proposal that the church should directly engage in missionary work was now heartily received on all sides. A committee was formed, the people were exhorted and informed by means of a Pastoral Address issued by the Assembly on the subject, and a fund was raised by means of collections and subscriptions. In 1829 the church found itself in a position to send out a missionary, and Alexander Duff sailed for India, the first of a noble band who have wrought with heroic zeal for the spread of Christianity and civilisation in that great continent.

One of the great spiritual forces of this period was Dr. Andrew Thomson. He had come to Edinburgh as one of its ministers in 1810, and in 1814, on St. George's Church being built, he was transferred to it, and immediately gathered around him a large and influential congregation. Under his editorship the *Christian Instructor* became an important vehicle of discussion on all the important religious and social topics of the day. He interested himself in schemes for the improvement and spread of education throughout the country. He denounced the institution of slavery in the British colonies, and contributed largely to the overthrow of the system. He also made use of the pages of his magazine for attacks upon the abuses of lay patronage and for the vindication of the rights of the

Christian people. In 1825, he engaged in a somewhat bitter and excited controversy about the printing of the Old Testament Apocrypha in editions of the English Bible published and circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The practice of including the Apocrypha was contrary to the original constitution and purpose of the Society, but had been introduced by the London Committee in order to secure or promote the circulation of the Bible among Roman Catholics and others who had been accustomed to regard the Apocrypha as part of the Bible, and who might refuse to receive a copy that did not contain these works. Robert Haldane and Andrew Thomson were the leaders of the movement against the practice, and the controversy, by means of pamphlets and articles, continued for some years. The Edinburgh Bible Society separated from the great parent Society, but after a time the arguments of those opposed to the issuing of the Apocrypha with the Canonical scriptures prevailed.

Meanwhile, among the Seceders the two sections, the Burghers and Anti-Burghers, had been drawing more closely together. For several years the ministers and members of both denominations had been heartily working together in mission work, and associating together on public platforms and in committee rooms in the arrangement of various evangelical enterprizes and charitable institutions. Gradually their differences had been sinking out of sight, and the common element in their Christian faith and life was coming to bulk more largely in their view. The first step in the direction of union was taken at Mid Calder in August, 1818, where the Burgher and Anti-Burgher congregations met together and discussed the desirableness and the practicability of dissenting evangelical presbyterians uniting on a common basis. Other congregations were stirred in the same direction in consequence of the Mid Calder manifesto, and so, when the two Synods met in April and May, 1819, their tables were covered with petitions requesting them to begin negotiations for the accomplishment of an incorporating union of the two churches. A joint committee was

appointed, which, after long and careful deliberations, prepared a Basis of Union on which they unanimously agreed. This committee's report was received with great heartiness by both Synods, and the ministers of both bodies exchanged pulpits with one another and fraternized at communion seasons and other such occasions. The formal union of Burghers and Anti-Burghers, under the designation of the United Secession Church, was consummated on 8th September, 1820. The Associate or Burgher Synod met in Portsburgh Church and the General Associate or Anti-Burgher Synod in their hall in Nicolson Street, and the Union Meeting was held in Bristo Church, where the separation had taken place seventy-three years before. There were at the time of the reunion, one hundred and thirty-nine ministers belonging to the Burgher, and one hundred and twenty-three to the Anti-Burgher Synod, giving a total of two hundred and sixty-two for the united church. Of the Burghers, all joined the union, but of the Anti-Burghers there was a small number of protesters, who refused to go with their brethren. Only seven ministers persisted in refusing to enter the union, of whom the best known were Professor Paxton and the Rev. George Stevenson of Ayr. They protested against accepting the Basis of Union because it did not recognize their connection with the Covenanted Church of Scotland, gave up the Narrative and Testimony, without providing another Testimony, did not guard against free communion, put a bar in the way of public covenanting, and because sufficient time for members of the church forming an intelligent judgment on the question had not been given. This protest, like that of M'Crie and his party, was practically one against voluntaryism.

The Protesters constituted themselves into a court retaining the denomination of the Associate Synod. Three presbyteries were formed, those of Perth, Ayr, and Aberdeen. The members were almost all old men, and it was difficult to keep up attendances at the meetings. They soon began negotiations with a view to union with the Constitutional Presbytery, consisting of Dr. M'Crie and his friends. After somewhat protracted discussions, all of

them, however, of the most friendly character, the union was consummated on the 17th of May, 1827. The Constitutional Anti-Burgher Presbytery had begun its separate existence in 1806, and the Associate Synod of Protesters (also Anti-Burgher) had originated in 1821. The new body took the name of the Original Secession Synod. In the very first year of their existence a conference was held to endeavour to bring about a union with the Old Light Burghers, but the negotiations failed, as did also a later attempt in the same direction, originating with the Burgher Synod in 1832. The Burgess Oath was still the occasion of trouble. The stricter Anti-Burghers insisted that the Burghers should be required to confess that in swearing this oath they had committed sin, and this they were not prepared to do. Dr. M'Crie and Dr. Stevenson of Ayr were earnest pleaders for union, but Dr. Paxton was inflexible. In 1828, the Original Secession Synod renewed the Covenants, twenty-eight ministers and probationers and eleven divinity students taking part in the solemn service. It is interesting and curious to read that Mr. Andrew Lambie and Mr. James Wright, who now sought admission, had prescribed to them respectively, as themes for written exercises, these subjects:—"Is free communion consistent with the Word of God and with the Scriptural Order of the Church?" and "Is it consistent to attend upon any one ordinance in a church with which we cannot hold fellowship in all the ordinances of religion?" Occasional hearing of ministers of other denominations was an offence which subjected the offender to church censure.

In November, 1823, Dr. Thomas Chalmers resigned his church and parish of St. John's, in Glasgow, in order to enter upon the professorship of Moral Philosophy in St. Andrews University. His ministry in Glasgow had from first to last been wonderfully successful. In July, 1815, he left his quiet little Fifeshire parish of Kilmany, and was inducted as minister of the Tron Parish in Glasgow. From the very beginning of his work in the Western Metropolis, his services were attended by immense crowds. In the fol-

lowing year the University of Glasgow conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Once every eight weeks it fell to his turn to preach a week-day sermon, and at these Thursday services that came to him throughout 1816, he delivered his famous *Astronomical Discourses*, which not only attracted crowds to hear them, but, after publication, proved perhaps the most popular of all his works. During the early years of his Glasgow ministry, besides a faithful and laborious visitation of his parish, he was specially active in establishing Sabbath Schools and advocating their claims against prevailing prejudices. He also gained prominence as a defender of church establishments, and took a warm interest in the question of pauper management. The magistrates and town council of Glasgow, presented Dr. Chalmers to the newly formed church and parish of St. John's, in order that he might work out his ideas of parochial administration, especially in relation to the relief of the poor, congregational visitation, and the establishment of schools. He entered upon his work in his new parish on the 26th September, 1819. For a period of four years he laboured unweariedly in this poor and populous parish, and during that time he was the most prominent and the most respected of Glasgow's citizens. Before leaving to take his place in the senatus of his *Alma Mater*, he saw a Chapel of Ease in his new parish thoroughly equipped and fully established.

About the time he began his work in St. John's parish Dr. Chalmers secured the assistance of Edward Irving, then a licentiate of the church. Irving had acted as schoolmaster in Haddington and afterwards, contemporaneously with Thomas Carlyle, in Kirkcaldy. As a preacher he had been at first unpopular, and had meditated going to Persia as a missionary. He had taken to the study of literature. Rejected, as he said, by the living, he was conversing with the dead. Having been asked to preach before Dr. Chalmers, he was chosen by him as his assistant, and for two years shared the preaching and the pastoral work of pulpit and parish with great devotion and success. There

were many who became enthusiastically attached to his person and to his preaching. He was, however, more successful as a visitor than as a preacher. "His preaching," said Dr. Chalmers, "is like Italian music, appreciated only by connoisseurs." Yet those who knew him in those earlier days were wonderfully fascinated by him. "What the Scottish uncelebrated Irving was," says Carlyle, "they that have only seen the London celebrated (and distorted) one can never know. His was the freest, brotherliest, truest human soul mine ever came in contact with. I call him, on the whole, the best man I have ever (after trial enough) found in the world, or ever hope to find." When in 1822 Irving went to London as minister of Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden, his success was at once brilliant and dazzling. His popularity as a preacher was quite phenomenal, and crowds, which embraced many of the highest ranks of the aristocracy, the most distinguished orators and statesmen, the most celebrated men of letters and the most popular actors and actresses, flocked to hear the great Scottish preacher. This continued for several years, but by and by he seemed to be losing his mental balance. He began to discuss the prophecies and to give strange interpretations of the more obscure parts of scripture. He preached about the Second Advent and the speedy coming again of Christ to earth. His popularity began to wane, and men possessed of strange views won a dominating influence over Irving. He was himself absorbed in his studies of the Incarnation, and in his endeavour to show that Christ's humanity was truly our very own, he enunciated a theory of His person that seemed to involve at least the possibility of sin. As intended by Irving it was certainly no heresy, but some of his expressions were crude and rash. Chiefly under the influence of those who had gained an ascendancy over him, strange scenes were enacted in the church. People under strong excitement spoke in unknown tongues, and in the church painful scenes of confusion and uproar became frequent. In 1830 the presbytery of London convicted Irving of heresy, and in 1832 he was ejected from his new church in Regent's Square.

A large number of enthusiastic people still gathered around him in a new place of worship. From the presbytery of London Irving had appealed to the Synod, and that court again referred the case to the presbytery of Annan, by which he had been licensed. There in his native town he made a noble and brilliant defence of his views and doings before the presbytery, but all in vain. His opinions and practices were condemned, and in 1833 he was deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland. Once again in the following year he came to Scotland, believing himself called to undertake a mission, in which a prophecy had given him abundant assurance of success. The hand of death, however, was upon him. Consumption had seized upon him, and harassed and troubled in mind as he had been for many years, disease soon made havoc of his originally powerful constitution. At Glasgow on the 7th of December, 1834, Edward Irving died in the forty-second year of his age, and in the crypt of the Cathedral he lies buried, a brass tablet in the floor marking the place of his interment, while above it a beautiful stained glass window representing John the Baptist forms a fitting memorial of his powerful and peculiar career.

During the same period the Church of Scotland was agitated by what has been called *The Row Heresy Case*. John Macleod Campbell, son of the minister of Kilninver in Argyllshire, and born there in 1800, had been minister of the parish of Row on the Gareloch since 1825. He was an earnest evangelical preacher, loved and trusted by all who knew him as one of the saintliest and most devout of men. In seeking a ground for the free offer of the gospel to all, he proclaimed the doctrine of God's universal love. God's forgiveness was for all, and the sinner's guilt lay in rejecting what was already his in gift and offer. Some of his statements also seemed to make assurance of salvation of the essence of faith. In September, 1830, his case was brought by libel before the presbytery of Dumbarton, and the libel was found relevant. In February, 1831, the presbytery proceeded to proof and heard evidence at great length. Besides

several elders, members and adherents of the congregation, some who had occasionally heard him preach, including Patrick Brewster and Dr. Robert Burns of Paisley, and William Cunningham, then of Greenock, afterwards the well-known college principal and theologian, were heard as witnesses. On 29th March the presbytery found it proven that he had entertained and promulgated the doctrine of universal atonement and pardon through the death of Christ, and also the doctrine that assurance is of the essence of faith and necessary to salvation. Against this Mr. Story of Rosneath and Mr. Campbell appealed to the Synod. From the Synod the case went up to the Assembly of 1831, which sustained the decision of the presbytery, and by an almost unanimous vote, in which Moderates and Evangelicals joined, deposed Mr. Campbell from the holy ministry. For many years he ministered to a congregation of attached friends and sympathizers in Glasgow. His theological writings—*Christ the Bread of Life* (1851) and *Thoughts on Revelation* (1862)—are beautiful spiritual treatises much in the style of Maurice, whom in many ways he resembled. His work which most powerfully influenced theological thinking was *The Nature of the Atonement and its Relation to Remission of Sins and Eternal Life*, which was published in 1856. His later years, which were singularly peaceful and happy, were spent at Rosneath, where he died on the 27th February, 1872. He was greatly beloved by a large circle of friends, whom he powerfully influenced by his singularly interesting and spiritual conversation and by the example of a thoroughly consecrated and holy life.

Thomas Erskine of Linlathen was in many respects in sympathy with Macleod Campbell. His works on *The Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel* (1828) and *The Doctrine of Election* (1837) expressed theological views very similar to those of the minister of Row. Mr. Erskine, though educated for the bar, did not prosecute his profession, but gave himself to a life of contemplation and study. He was a believer in the doctrine of the final restoration of all men, and regarded miracles as worthless for evidence of inspiration of the scrip-

tures. As with Campbell, so with Erskine, much of his influence resulted from the beauty and purity of his Christian life. He died at Linlathen, near Dundee, on 20th March, 1870, in the eighty-second year of his age.

The passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, by which Romanists were freed from civil penalties and from all inequalities as compared with other free citizens, and the Reform Bill of 1831, conferring political power on thousands who had no voice before in the government of the country, had a liberalizing influence on the politics of the churches, and gave a special impetus to what is called the Voluntary Movement. The question of Voluntaryism had been raised in the Secession Churches. The Erskines, indeed, in the first Secession, and Gillespie and his associates in the Relief Secession, had no thought of moving in that direction. They were as little inclined to favour toleration, or what they called the *pretended* liberty of conscience, as ever Samuel Rutherford or George Gillespie or any of their compeers would have been. Independents and Quakers were on principle, and from the first, thorough-going Voluntaries. They denounced all connection between church and state. Of these there were considerable numbers already in Scotland, and though they were everywhere much spoken against, their attitude toward the state undoubtedly influenced those who found themselves, as a matter of fact, shut out from deriving any benefit from the state. Besides this, the writings of the great English Independents were widely read and carefully studied by the Scottish Dissenters. In the end of the eighteenth century, the question was keenly discussed among the Burghers. The great majority of the body adopted the Voluntary position, and the small minority of dissenting Anti-Voluntaries withdrew and formed a little sect by themselves. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the same controversy disturbed the Anti-Burgher Synod, with a similar result. And so, by 1804, Voluntaryism had become the recognised creed of Burghers and Anti-Burghers alike, and

especially after the union of 1820, the Voluntaries became a power in Scotland that churchmen had to reckon with.

In 1832, the Edinburgh Voluntary Association was formed, and in the beginning of the following year public discussions were inaugurated between representatives of Voluntaryism and of ecclesiastical establishments, and courses of lectures were delivered by recognised champions of these conflicting views. Leading men of the Secession Church attacked the Established Church, and sought to show that Erastian interference invariably accompanied and followed the receiving of state aid. On the other hand, prominent ministers of the Established Church defended state connection and the receiving of state endowments, and endeavoured to prove that the spiritual independence of the church was not impaired by association with the state. One of the very ablest of the church defenders was Dr. Inglis, who has also the distinction of having been the first to advocate successfully in the church the cause of missions. His *Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments* is the ablest and most thorough of all the works on this subject written from the churchman's standpoint. He stoutly maintained the spiritual independence of the church. Any attempt on the part of a civil government to direct the proper affairs of the church would make that government an adversary of Christ and His cause. But it is the part of a Christian government, while abstaining from intermeddling with such matters, to aid the church in the outward support of ordinances, to provide for the temporal wants of the ministers, and help to extend the benefit of religious teaching throughout the land. The Voluntary champion, Dr. Marshall, in his reply sought to prove that this spiritual independence claimed was not enjoyed in the Established Church, quoting in support of his statement some of the extreme Erastian views of the church's constitution which had been set forth by Dr. Cook and other thorough-going Moderates.

The discussion entered upon a new phase when, in 1838, Dr. Chalmers, on the invitation of some of the most dis-

tinguished public men of the day, delivered a course of lectures in Hanover Square Rooms, London, in favour of Church Establishments. He maintained that the arrangement for the support of a Christian ministry had actually been made without the slightest infringement of the spiritual prerogatives of the church or the ecclesiastical independence of her clergymen. The constitution of the Church of Scotland was, he declared, a perfect illustration of real ecclesiastical independence. "We have no other communication with the state," he said, "than that of being maintained by it, after which we are left to regulate the proceedings of our great Home Mission, with all the purity, and the piety, and the independence of any Missionary Board." The church's own inherent right to manage and determine all things within her proper domain must be insisted on by every church, established or non-established, and it was Dr. Chalmers' contention that establishment did not deprive the church of this absolutely essential independence.

These lectures were replied to in a course delivered by Dr. Wardlaw shortly afterwards. He maintained that every endowed church surrendered part of her independence in return for temporal benefits. This on the part of the state is a fair demand, but compliance with it on the part of the church is a shameful sacrifice of her rightful heritage and a withdrawal of her allegiance to her Lord and Master. He sought to show that the Church of Scotland had allowed the state to interfere and dictate to her in regard to her creed, the appointment of her ministers, and the power of her courts. Dr. Wardlaw expressed his own extreme Voluntaryism in the words: "The true and legitimate province of the magistrate in regard to religion is to have no province at all." Within the Church of Scotland all the most distinguished of the evangelical party were vigorous and zealous opponents of Voluntaryism; but it is noted that their defence of Establishment invariably rested upon the assumption that the constitution of the church effectually excluded all Erastian interference on the part of

the state. The Voluntary Controversy, therefore, eventually prepared the way for the Non-Intrusion Controversy, by which it was to be decided whether or not the state would allow an endowed church that spiritual independence which was claimed for it.

In the Voluntary Controversy the champions of the Established Church were eventually aided by the Old Light Burghers, who owed their existence to their protest against Voluntaryism. Dr. Willis, their divinity professor, wrote an able treatise in support of Church Establishments. Meeting thus on common ground, the leaders of the Church of Scotland and the leaders of the Old Light Burghers were brought together as they never had been before, and the result was that a fresh impetus was given to the negotiations in favour of union which had been going on rather languidly for some time. The Synod was naturally anxious to make it as sure as possible that the practical evils, against the presence of which in the national church they had protested, and because of which, on their failing to obtain their removal, they had gone out of the church, were either altogether abandoned, or at least in the course of being removed. They were specially desirous of something more definite in the way of rejecting patronage, which had been at the root of most of the evils of which they had complained. For three or four years discussions were carried on among the Seceders over the question as to whether the Church of Scotland had on these points advanced so far as to warrant them in going back again into its fold. The Committees appointed by the two negotiating bodies had their commissions renewed from year to year, and at last, in the Burgher Synod of 16th May, 1839, it was resolved by a majority that, sympathising with the struggle in the Church of Scotland to establish the principle of non-intrusion, and being convinced that a basis of warrantable reunion had been found, they do not feel that they can recede from the contemplated alliance with their brethren, and so appoint a meeting of Synod to be held at an early date for the final adjustment of the matter. With this resolution before

them, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on 25th May, on the motion of Mr. Candlish, came to a deliverance agreeing to receive the Seceders and their people as ministers and congregations of the Church. At their meeting on 31st July of the same year, the Seceders resolved by a majority to accompany them, and agreed that their minority should be allowed to retain their old name and to have the use of the books of synods and presbyteries. "And the majority and minority," thus fittingly did the motion conclude, "shall both be understood as pledging themselves to encourage no violent proceedings affecting the conscientious liberty of one another, nor litigations in respect of civil property, and that in case of any difficulties arising in questions of that kind, the same shall be settled by Christian arbitration." Of the forty-one ministers in Scotland, twenty-nine at once joined the Church of Scotland, and other two joined soon afterwards.

On the 12th January, 1842, the Original Secession Synod, which had been formed in 1827 by the union of the Old Light Burghers and Old Light Anti-Burghers, agreed to unite with the Remnant Burgher Synod, and only two ministers, the Rev. James Wright and the Rev. Andrew Lambie, refused to go into the union, and these two, along with an elder, constituted *The Associate Presbytery of Original Seceders*. These two, however, Mr. Wright and Mr. Lambie, separated from one another in 1851, and from that time onward continued to minister independently to the congregations adhering to them respectively. On Mr. Wright's death in 1879, his congregation again divided, and each of the two sections worships as a distinct congregation under its own minister. The moderator who presided on the occasion of the formation of the United Original Secession Church was the Rev. J. A. Wylie, afterwards well known as author of *The Papacy*, *The History of Protestantism*, and other works, and Lecturer to the Protestant Institute of Scotland.

A representation had been made to the General Assembly of 1839, by certain clergymen and others, as to the existence

of a *fama* against the Rev. Thomas Wright, minister of Borthwick, in the presbytery of Dalkeith, as to certain seriously heretical statements which occurred in several works written and published by him. The Assembly accordingly instructed the presbytery to proceed to an investigation, and that court served a libel upon Mr. Wright. The case was brought up before the Assembly of 1840, by appeal on the part of Mr. Wright against the finding of the libel relevant, and by reference of the case on its merits on the part of the presbytery. The Assembly declared the libel relevant, but declined to deal with the case on its merits, and remitted it to the presbytery to proceed to proof. The presbytery found the libel proven, and reported the case, as required, to the Assembly of 1841. The libel embraced thirteen charges against Mr. Wright of teaching erroneous doctrines in his writings. He was charged with maintaining that moral evil had no real existence, that in man's present nature there exists native good and tendencies to good, that man's present constitution is essentially religious, and that the evangelical graces of faith and repentance are essential to it, that the heart of man naturally loves divine truth and what is good, that all men are equally objects of God's love and members of Christ's body, that all are heirs of one blessed immortality, that a man by his own merits may obtain future blessedness, that death is not a penal consequence of sin, that there is no imputation of Adam's guilt, that divine grace and the Spirit's operation are not the only source of what is spiritually good in man, nor constitute an essential difference between the regenerate and unregenerate, that the Word of God is not the only authoritative and perfect rule of faith and life, and that Jesus Christ did not give Himself a voluntary sacrifice unto death for sin, or by his death make any proper satisfaction to His Father for His people. In support of these charges large extracts were made, mainly from the *The True Plan of a Living Temple*. The Assembly seemed unanimously to condemn the language used in Mr. Wright's works, and Mr. Hill of Daily and

Mr. Robertson of Ellon, who moved and seconded a motion in favour of appointing a committee to deal with the accused and to report to a subsequent diet, quite as strongly as the most pronounced evangelical leaders, repudiated all sympathy with the doctrines which it was proved Mr. Wright had taught. By a large majority it was resolved that Mr. Wright should be deposed; the sentence of deposition was pronounced, and the parish of Borthwick declared vacant. It would seem that Mr. Wright was a man of thoroughly devout spirit and of a reflective and philosophical turn of mind. His works had attained considerable popularity, and some of them had been much used and prized in Christian families as devotional treatises for about twenty years before the charge of heresy was raised. The errors undoubtedly were very serious, but some of the statements exhibit an unfortunate vagueness and want of clearness of expression, and there is a considerable amount of confusion and inconsistency between one utterance and another. There was probably no conscious or deliberate departure from the orthodox teaching of the church.

The Assembly of 1842 passed an important measure, which rescinded the Act of Assembly of 1799, excluding from the pulpits of the Church of Scotland all who were not capable of receiving a presentation. The old Act had been passed in order to prevent ministers giving their pulpits to such evangelists as the Haldanes and Mr. Simeon of Cambridge. It was now recognised on all hands that it was an Act unworthy of the church. Several members spoke of the need of caution and prudence on the part of ministers, but inasmuch as they would be held responsible for the doctrines preached from their pulpits, it was admitted that no evil would result from the removing of this extreme restriction, which many, indeed, had refused to observe. The rescinding of this objectional Act was agreed to by the Assembly unanimously.

The defence of Church Establishment against the Voluntaries had brought into special prominence the question of the spiritual independence of the church. The defenders

of the Established Church had, without exception, maintained that the fact of receiving endowments from the state did not involve on the part of the church the admission of any right of interference by the civil government in regard to anything that properly belonged to the province of the church. Attention was thus called to the evils of lay patronage and the intrusion of unacceptable ministers into parishes by the aid of the secular authority. The non-intrusion controversy was a necessary sequel to the voluntary controversy. It was recognised on all hands that something must be done to mitigate the evils of patronage, and the only difference of opinion arose over the question of how far in the way of reform they ought to go.

For several years petitions had been addressed to the Assembly, some of them asking for the complete abolition of patronage, and others, that some change should be made in the way in which the right of patronage was carried out. At a meeting of clergymen held previous to the sitting of the Assembly of 1833, a proposal was made to enable the will of the people to obtain effective expression without altogether repudiating the right of the patron. This proposal afterwards found expression in what is known as the Veto Act.

The question in dispute concerned the value to be attached to the *call* of the people by a presbytery which had before it a presentee asking admission and ordination. Apart from patronage, there could be no uncertainty about the importance of the popular vote in warranting a presbytery to proceed with any settlement. It was the duty of the presbytery to secure supply for the vacant pulpit, and then to meet with the people and find if they were prepared to address and subscribe a call to any one of the candidates. But even patronage did not formally dispense with the call of the people. Some indeed insisted that the Patronage Act of Queen Anne did not abrogate the Act of 1690. If that were so, the right of the patron was merely co-ordinated with that of protestant heritors and elders. Others maintained that according to ecclesiastical law the enactment of

1649, which gave the right of election to heads of families, was still in force. In any case, it was generally recognised for at least twenty years after the re-enactment of the patronage law that the rights of patrons were conditional, and not absolute. The only point in dispute was as to the electorate, and the decision of the Assembly of 1832 in favour of heritors and elders rather than the heads of families, was the immediate occasion of the first secession. Up to the time of Robertson's leadership, even the Moderate party recognised the necessity of the call, but sometimes a call signed by a minority of heritors and elders was sustained. Under Robertson the call was treated as a meaningless form, which was invariably sustained, whether signed by many or by few, so that the presentation was in every case upheld. The more severely logical of the churchmen clearly perceived that patronage and the right of election by the congregation, either through heritors and elders or through the heads of families, were absolutely inconsistent with one another. Dr. Cook, who was Moderate leader when the non-intrusion controversy was waged, plainly declared that, if the law of patronage be continued, it is imperative and admits of no limitation but the defined qualifications of a presentee not existing in a particular individual, and that, if it be repealed, then the Act of 1690, or some other means of settling vacant parishes, must be substituted for it. Any combination of the two, he held to be inadmissible.

Of the evangelical party there were many who were on principle opposed to patronage. They felt that however limited the exercise of patronage might be, it was in any case an infringement upon the rights of the Christian people. But some of the most attached and trusted members of the party, of whom the great and powerful leader, Dr. Chalmers, was one, declined to join the anti-patronage agitation, and confined their attention to the securing of legislative measures which would so restrict the exercise of patronage as to preserve the rights of the people and make the call effective and real. At this particular juncture the anti-patronage men, without resiling from their position as

thorough-going opponents of patronage, agreed to co-operate with those who sought at least to minimise its evils. The result of the fusion of the two sections of the evangelical party was the introduction by Dr. Chalmers in the Assembly of 1833 of the Veto measure. The whole meaning of the proposal was, to use Dr. Chalmers's own words, to secure "that the majority of dissentient voices should be a veto on any presentation." He proposed the motion in the form of a Declaratory Act, declaring that a dissent of a majority of male heads of families, resident in the parish, members of the congregation, and at least two years in communion with the church, whether with or without reasons, unless corrupt and malicious combination can be proved, ought to be conclusive in setting aside the presentee. This motion was seconded and ably supported by Lord Moncreiff. The amendment moved by Dr. Cook recognised the growth of popular views, and admitted the conditional character of patronage rights, and that a presbytery in judging the qualifications of a presentee might take into consideration, not only his sufficiency in literature, conduct and doctrine, but also his suitability for the particular congregation to which he was presented. He maintained, however, that if the objections of a congregation to a presentee were to be judged by a presbytery, the objectors must assign reasons for their opposition. The amendment of Dr. Cook was carried by 149 against 137, a narrow majority of twelve.

The same subject engaged the attention of the Assembly of 1834. In the absence of Dr. Chalmers, who was not a member of Assembly, it devolved upon Lord Moncreiff to re-introduce the Veto measure. The amendment proposed by Dr. Mearns of Aberdeen was that proposed by Dr. Cook in the previous Assembly, or rather the report of the Committee which by the passing of that motion had been formed. The result of the vote was a victory for the liberal party and the passing of the measure by 184 votes against 138, giving a majority of forty-six. The promoters of this measure still regarded it as a Declaratory Act, and as such not requiring to be sent down to presbyteries, but on

grounds of expediency, as some entertained doubts on the subject, it was agreed to send it down under the Barrier Act to presbyteries, and meanwhile to convert it into an interim Act which would be in force till the meeting of next Assembly. The Assembly of 1835 passed the Veto measure as a standing law of the church.

The question of Chapels of Ease was another matter which came up for discussion before the Assembly of 1833. The Court of Session as Court of Teinds could erect a new parish only with the consent of heritors possessed of at least three-fourths of the valued rent of the parish. But, as the cost of the erection of the new parish would come out of the unexhausted teinds in the possession of these heritors, it was usually no easy matter to secure their concurrence. In order to meet the spiritual necessities of populous districts, the people themselves sometimes built chapels; and, if they failed in obtaining recognition from presbytery and Assembly those who erected them put themselves and their property under the Relief or Secession churches. The chapel ministers were not members of the church courts, nor had they independent sessions of their own. Several presbyteries and synods sent up overtures, which were presented to this Assembly, asking that the disabilities of the chapel ministers should be removed, and Alexander Murray Dunlop was heard in support of them. Professor Brown of Aberdeen moved that they should be admitted to all the privileges of the regular clergy of the Established Church. Dr. Cook opposed this on the ground of a doubt of the power of the Assembly to pass such a measure, and his amendment was carried by a majority of four. The Assembly, however, unhesitatingly admitted the claims of ministers of parliamentary churches, forty churches in the Highlands which had recently been erected under authority of an Act of Parliament. The Assembly of 1834, on the motion of Professor Brown, passed the measure usually called the Chapel Act by a majority of forty-nine, admitting Chapels of Ease to the status of parish churches, and a directory was prepared for carrying that Act into effect.

A Royal Commission had been appointed to inquire about religious instruction in Scotland. In order to lay before this Commission reliable information, Dr. Chalmers made careful investigations as to the attendances of the lowest and most destitute classes of the community on religious ordinances within certain localities. Considerable opposition was offered to the proposals for church extension by the dissenters. It was only after a period of eighteen months had been spent, that the Commission in February, 1837, gave its first report. In the Established and Dissenting Churches of Edinburgh there was accommodation for a little over 48 per cent. of the population, and there were 20,000 sittings unlet. It was calculated that 40,000 or 60,000 persons capable of attending were habitually absent. The report concluded with the statement of a conviction that the means of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence was inadequate. The second report referred to Glasgow, where sittings were provided for 39½ per cent. of the population, and upwards of 60,000 persons were habitually absent from ordinances. In view of these reports the Government, after making some unimportant suggestions as to providing for necessitous districts in the Highlands, and the division of parishes and distribution among them of the unexhausted teinds, declined to do anything for the large towns. Disappointed in his expectations of help from the Government, Dr. Chalmers now resolved to make his appeal to the country. Having obtained the sanction of the General Assembly of 1836, a sub-committee on Church Extension began at once to make arrangements for holding a series of meetings to be addressed by delegates well instructed in the matter. The religious necessities of the country were thus effectively brought under the notice of the public, and the appeal thus made to the people was at once wonderfully successful. In May, 1838, Dr. Chalmers was able to report to the Assembly that about two hundred additional churches had been built and their cost of over two hundred thousand pounds had been met by the contributions given in response to his committee's appeal. During the following year he made an extensive tour

through the North of Scotland, advocating the claims of Church Extension in the larger and smaller towns, and the result was that by 1841, when he resigned the convenership of the committee, he could report that no less than 222 churches had been built and over £305,000 collected for the purposes of the scheme.

On the occasion of the passing of the Veto Law by the Assembly of 1834, there had been considerable discussion as to whether it would not have been a wiser measure to endeavour to restore *the call* to such a position as would render it really effective, but the opinion of many of the most distinguished lawyers, as well as of a large number of the most prominent ecclesiastical leaders, was that the passing of the Veto was quite within the power of the Assembly. The question of its legality was almost immediately raised by what is known in history as *The Auchterarder Case*. On the 14th of October, 1834, the Earl of Kinnoul, patron of the living, presented a Mr. Young to the vacant parish of Auchterarder. When the call was moderated in, after the presentee had preached for two Sabbaths before the congregation, only two members of the congregation and the patron's factor, who was not a member, were found to sign it, and 287 male heads of families, members of the congregation, out of a total of 330, exercised their right of veto. The presbytery was prepared, in accordance with the law then in force in the church, to set the unpopular presentee aside, and this was actually done by the presbytery in July, 1835, after an appeal to Synod and Assembly had been dismissed. The patron and the presentee now addressed a petition to the Court of Session, asking that Court to find the presbytery of Auchterarder bound to make trial of the qualifications of the presentee, and if found qualified, to induct him as minister of the parish, and also to find that their refusal to take him on trial because of the veto of the parishioners was adverse to the rights of the presentee and contrary to the statute law. The case came before all the judges in November, the counsel for the patron and presentee being Mr. John Hope, afterwards Lord Justice

Clerk, and the counsel for the presbytery, Mr. Rutherford, afterwards a distinguished judge. Their pleadings lasted from 21st November till 12th December, 1837. The opinions of the judges were delivered at the end of February, and the delivery of them occupied seven days. Eight judges gave their opinion in favour of the presentee, and five (Lords Fullerton, Moncrieff, Glenlee, Jeffrey and Cockburn) in favour of the church. The judgment of the Court as delivered on 8th March, 1838, found that the presbytery in rejecting Mr. Young simply because he had been vetoed by the parishioners was illegal and contrary to the provisions of certain statutes libelled on. This deliverance left it uncertain whether the veto was regarded as illegal because a power belonging to the church which she could not alienate had been transferred to the people, so that the presbytery itself might find a presentee disqualified because unsuitable, and it was also uncertain whether the civil court claimed authority over the church in all actings which carried directly or indirectly civil consequences, or if still some separate jurisdiction was left to ecclesiastical judicatories. In any case, it was evident that at least the Court of Session claimed to have authority to determine the appropriation of the stipend. In view of the equivocal character of the judgment, the Assembly of 1838 appealed to the House of Lords, which in the following year dismissed the appeal and confirmed the decision of the Court of Session. Lords Brougham and Cottenham held that the presbytery's powers in dealing with a presentee were limited to an inquiry into his life, literature and manners. By this judgment all right on the part of presbyteries of judging of the fitness of presentees for particular congregations, which Dr. Cook and the Moderate party had never thought of questioning, was emphatically and categorically denied. Immediately after the decision of the Lords had been published, the Assembly of 1839 began its sittings. Dr. Chalmers had only regarded the Veto as one of several possible ways of dealing with the evils of patronage, and had been quite prepared to consider any other proposal if

that particular method of dealing with the question had been declared illegal; but the decision of the Lords made it evident that any attempt whatever to restrict the arbitrary action of patrons would be pronounced equally objectionable. It was now declared that the presbytery had no more power than the people to judge of a presentee's fitness for the charge to which he was presented. Dr. Cook proposed a motion requiring the Assembly to hold the Veto Law as abrogated, and to proceed as if it had never been passed. Dr. Chalmers moved for the appointment of a committee to confer with the Government in order to prevent further collisions between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. In his motion he recognised and acquiesced in the loss of the temporalities of the living of Auchterarder, but insisted upon the maintaining of the principle of non-intrusion. Dr. Chalmers spoke for three hours, and his speech was one of the most brilliant ever delivered by this great orator. His motion was carried by a majority of forty-nine.

Meanwhile another case had occurred in which certain interesting and important points emerged peculiar to itself. In 1835 the Crown as patron presented Mr. Clark to the parish of Lethendy in the presbytery of Dunkeld as colleague and successor to the aged and infirm minister. The people exercised their veto against Mr. Clark, and though he appealed against the presbytery's rejection of his claims to the Court of Session in 1837, the Crown recognized the validity of the veto, and on the death of the aged minister, issued a new presentation to Mr. Kessen. The Court of Session issued an interdict against the ordination of Mr. Kessen by the presbytery. The Commission to which the presbytery applied for advice, ordered the presbytery to proceed at once notwithstanding the interdict. The motion to this effect, moved and seconded by prominent members of the Moderate party, was carried by a majority of fifty-two to six, only one clergyman voting in the minority. It was thus all but unanimously acknowledged that the Court of Session had overstepped the limits of its jurisdiction in interfering with the presbytery in the performance of the

purely spiritual act of ordination. The presbytery was warned of the consequences of defying the civil court. The Dean of Faculty had given his opinion to the presentee's agent that the members of presbytery proceeding to ordain Mr. Kessen in spite of the interdict of court would be liable to imprisonment and would infallibly receive that punishment. Nevertheless the presbytery proceeded with Mr. Kessen's ordination. A complaint having been made against them for breach of interdict, the presbytery were summoned to appear at the bar of the Court of Session. By a narrow majority, it has been said that it was only by six votes against five, the court resolved not to imprison the members of the presbytery, but to administer a sharp rebuke. In conveying the censure, the president said that he had been instructed to add the warning that should they or any other presbytery afterwards commit a similar offence the sentence of imprisonment would be inflicted. In addition to all this, not only was the presbytery of Dunkeld found liable in expenses, but Mr. Clark was awarded damages amounting to several thousands of pounds, which but for help given them, they could never have paid. Lord Cockburn speaks in his *Journal* of the action of the court in this case as showing that "passion sometimes invades the bench." "The majority of the Court," he says, "may have been right at first and to a certain extent, but they soon got rabid, in so much that there seemed to be no feeling except that of pleasure at winging wild churchmen."

The parish of Marnoch, in the presbytery of Strathbogie, having become vacant, the patron, in June, 1837, presented to the living Mr. John Edwards, who had been previously assistant for three years to the late minister, and whose services had been dispensed with by him at the people's request. There were three hundred parishioners qualified to vote, but of these only one, the village publican, signed the call, and two hundred and sixty-one exercised their right of veto. The presbytery, under direction of the Assembly of 1838, rejected Mr. Edwards, and the patron presented Mr. Henry. The rejected presentee, however, sought and obtained an

interdict from the Court of Session forbidding the presbytery to proceed with the settlement of the other presentee. The presbytery resolved to submit to the authority of the civil court, but the Commission of Assembly of 1839, in reviewing this judgment, enjoined the presbytery to take no further step till next General Assembly. In June, 1839, however, the Court of Session issued a decree holding that the presbytery was still bound to take Mr. Edwards on trial with a view to ordination. Without being under any necessity of acting hastily or going in opposition to the Commission's injunction to delay action for a year, a majority of the presbytery, consisting of seven out of ten, resolved to proceed at once to the ordination and settlement of Mr. Edwards. At the meeting of Commission in December, after all efforts had been used in vain to induce the refractory members of presbytery to delay proceedings, by a majority of one hundred and twenty-one to fourteen, the seven Strathbogie ministers were suspended and prohibited from exercising any of their ministerial duties, and the minority, recognised as the presbytery, was directed to take charge of their parishes and secure for them suitable ministerial supply. Before the Commission rose, a protest was served upon that court at the instance of the suspended ministers. The seven proceeded at once to act as a presbytery as if no judgment had been pronounced against them, and took Mr. Edwards on trial. In answer to their application, the Court of Session issued an interdict against ministers preaching, not generally in their parishes, as they had demanded, but in the churches, church-yards, or schoolrooms, as also against their using the church bells. Many of the most distinguished evangelical preachers of the church went to these parishes, preaching in the open air or in any unecclesiastical edifice which was opened to them. The result was a very general spiritual revival throughout the district. A further application was made to the Court of Session, which, in February, 1840, prohibited any Established Church minister from preaching or administering ordinances in any of these parishes. Interdicts were served personally on Dr. Chal-

mers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Guthrie, and other distinguished ministers, but in spite of them they went and preached as they had been appointed to do. But the bold and emphatic threat of imprisonment for breach of interdict was never carried out.

The seven suspended ministers calling themselves the presbytery of Strathbogie, having received Mr. Edwards on trial, found him qualified. The Court of Session then, at the instance of the presentee, ordered the presbytery recognised by them to proceed to receive and ordain Mr. Edwards as minister of Marnoch. Thursday, 21st January, 1841, had been fixed as the ordination day. The country was deeply covered with snow, so that, in ordinary circumstances, the roads would have been regarded as impassable, but a crowd of over two thousand men were gathered round the church. Each of the carriages conveying the presbyters and their party had to be driven by four horses. The church, as soon as it was opened, was filled in every part: in the gallery were strangers and onlookers, in the area the parishioners. One of the elders demanded of the ministers by what authority they were there. Was it by authority of the Assembly? This they refused to answer unless he would sit himself as a party at the bar. Regarding this as an acknowledgment of their authority, he declined to do so. Two protests were then read, one by all the elders, the other by four hundred and fifty communicants. At the call of their agent, after tabling the protests, the people of Marnoch, gathering their pew Bibles and psalm books, marched out of the church, refusing to witness what they regarded as an unconstitutional and sacrilegious act. All of them went out but the occupants of one pew. The proceedings were orderly, quiet, and dignified; only when their places were taken by the mob which curiosity had gathered from surrounding districts, were scenes of disorder enacted. Against the wish of the patrons, against the will of the people, with a call signed by one parishioner, the suspended presbyters ordained a minister in Marnoch.

In consequence of their disregard of the suspension pronounced upon them by the Commission, and especially of their proceeding to ordain in defiance of the Assembly's prohibition, the Assembly of 1841, on the motion of Dr. Chalmers, deposed the seven men who claimed to form the presbytery of Strathbogie. Dr. Cook had moved that all proceedings instituted against these men should be set aside as incompetent, but the motion of deposition was carried by a vote of two hundred and twenty-two against one hundred and twenty-five.

An attempt was made by Lord Aberdeen to devise a legislative measure which might have the effect of bringing together the two opposing parties in the church, and preventing further collisions between the civil and ecclesiastical courts. On the 5th of May, 1840, he introduced a bill into the House of Lords, which proposed to give power to the presbyteries to judge of any reasons for opposing the settlement of a presentee which the parishioners might lay before them. Dr. Chalmers enumerated three fatal objections to the bill as it appeared to him and the non-intrusion party. It obliged the presbytery to give judgment exclusively on the reasons, and allowed them no discretionary power; it subordinated the church to the civil power in things spiritual; and it was equivalent to a proposal previously made by Dr. Cook and rejected by the church. The character of the bill was discussed in the Assembly, and by a majority of two hundred and twenty-one to one hundred and thirty-four, it was condemned. It was a purely declaratory measure. It only gave what the law as it presently existed gave, and what all might have without any such bill, by simply submitting to the enactments of the civil courts. In the House of Lords the opposition to the bill was led by the Marquess of Breadalbane, but the motion for the second reading was carried by a considerable majority. Before the third reading came on, however, the bill was withdrawn.

Another effort was made to bring about a settlement of the question of conflicting claims between the church and

civil authority in Scotland by the Duke of Argyll, who, on the 5th of May, 1841, introduced a bill with this purpose in view into the House of Lords. It was practically an extension of the old Veto measure. It proposed to give the right of veto to all male communicants above twenty-one years of age, but provided that the veto should be set aside in every case where it could be proved to have been due to factious and causeless prejudice. This measure was warmly approved of by the non-intrusionists, and after it had been read a first time, it was heartily supported in the Assembly of 1841, by a majority of two hundred and fifty against one hundred and five. It was, however, keenly opposed by Lord Aberdeen. In the following year it was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Campbell of Monzie. Sir James Graham seemed friendly, and the government asked the postponement of the day for the second reading. When, however, the Home Secretary explained the lines on which the government were prepared to legislate, it was seen that the proposal did not really go beyond the rejected and discredited bill of Lord Aberdeen.

Hopes were for a time entertained that the government might yet be induced to recognise in their legislation the principle of non-intrusion. When the day arrived to which the second reading of his bill had been postponed, Mr. Campbell, having received no assurance that the government measure would be satisfactory, was prepared to move, but an objection was raised by the Speaker on the ground that seeing the object of the bill was to modify patronage, and that the crown holds the patronage of a number of churches, it cannot be introduced into parliament till the consent of the crown had been obtained. This objection had not been raised in the House of Lords, nor on the introduction of the bill into the House of Commons, but, as Sir Robert Peel declined to use his prerogative to put it aside, the technical objection necessitated the setting aside of the bill.

The apparent hopelessness of all attempts to obtain redress of what were very widely recognised as serious evils,

by any measure securing legal protection against the absolute and arbitrary exercise of patronage, led many who would previously have been satisfied with the Veto, to confess that nothing could avail but the complete overthrow of patronage. In the Assembly of 1841, the Anti-Patronage resolution proposed by Mr. Cunningham, was lost only by three votes. In the following year Mr. Cunningham carried his motion by a vote of two hundred and sixteen against one hundred and forty-seven.

In the year 1841 another case of intrusion, in some respects worse even than that of Marnoch, occurred in Aberdeenshire. It had become necessary that an assistant and successor should be appointed to the infirm minister of the parish of Culsalmond, in the presbytery of Garioch, and the patron presented an elderly probationer, Mr. Middleton, who had been for some time the extremely unpopular assistant of the minister. On the day when the call was to be moderated in only forty-five signed the document, and out of one hundred and thirty-nine male heads of families, eighty-nine exercised their veto against the presentee. Though the Veto Law had never been abrogated by the church, the presbytery, without even referring to the Assembly, and in face of dissents and protests of the parishioners, resolved to proceed with the settlement. They would not even listen to special objections when these were offered. On the 11th November, the day fixed for the ordination, crowds made their way through deep snowdrifts, and rushing into the church, prevented the conducting of the ordination services in public. The presbytery, therefore, adjourned to the manse, and though the agent of the parishioners, and afterwards a representative of the presssought admission, they were told that the presbytery had private business, and when at last the door was opened they were told that the presbytery had adjourned. The November Commission received a petition from the objecting parishioners, summoned parties to appear at the Commission in March, or if no Commission were held, at the ensuing Assembly, and meanwhile prohibits Mr. Middleton

from officiating in the parish. Mr. Middleton applied for an interdict, which was refused by Lord Ivory, as Lord Ordinary, on the ground that there was nothing civil in the case. This judgment was reversed on review by the first division of the court, on the ground that a great stigma was fixed on the presentee, and that this constituted a civil injury. The Assembly of 1842 passed a resolution, without a vote, rescinding the settlement, and finding that Mr. Middleton had disqualified himself as minister to the parish, and that he is accordingly rejected.

Sir George Sinclair, an elder of the Church of Scotland and warmly interested in her well-being, proposed a clause, by the introduction of which into Lord Aberdeen's bill, he thought that bill might be made acceptable to those who had hitherto repudiated it. It proposed to give to presbyteries the power to reject a presentee in view of the soundness of the reasons advanced and of the number of the objectors. It was, of course, an abandonment of the veto, and a giving to presbyteries what had been claimed for the people. Just as before the patron, so under this clause the presbytery, might intrude an unpopular minister on a reluctant people. Though for a time Mr. Hope and Lord Aberdeen, on the one hand, and Mr. Candlish and other non-intrusionists on the other, were inclined to concur in supporting the clause, they found out by and by that this agreement was founded on conflicting and contradictory meanings, which they had read into the clause. The attempt to popularise the bill by this means was therefore abandoned. The discussion over this clause, however, had the effect of drawing off from their allegiance a small number of non-intrusionists. These declared themselves willing to be satisfied with what was called the *liberum arbitrium*, the obtaining of power by the presbytery to judge of objections made against a presentee. These were members of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, and one of them, when expounding their views and wishing to show the strength of his party, said, "We are forty." The

nickname of "The Forty Thieves" was soon attached to them.

On Tuesday, the 24th of May, 1842, the General Assembly had before it a voluminous and most important document, which is now popularly known as *The Claim of Right*. It came before the Assembly in the form of an Overture signed by a large number of prominent ministers and elders, but was drawn up by Mr. Alexander Murray Dunlop. It is acknowledged on all hands to be a masterly production, composed in a thoroughly clear style and setting forth its facts and arguments in an accurate and well-balanced statement. It shows, from the church standards and from the statutes of the realm, that the doctrine of Christ's Headship over the church had been always made and recognised, it points out the degree in which this doctrine was infringed by the Patronage Act of Queen Anne and the subsequent proceedings of the civil courts; and thus, in behalf of the nation and people of Scotland, the church makes claim as of right "to possess and enjoy her liberties, government, discipline, rights, and privileges according to law, especially for the defence of the spiritual liberties of her people, and that she shall be protected therein from the unconstitutional and illegal encroachments of the Court of Session." The subscribers of this document further declare that they cannot intrude ministers or yield to the coercion of the Court of Session, but must, at the risk of suffering the loss of secular benefits and advantages of an establishment, refuse to do so. Further, they protest against any alteration of the government and discipline of the church without her consent, and that, while promising obedience in all civil matters, they refuse to obey sentences of courts that are in contravention of the rights and privileges of the church. The adoption of the Overture was moved by Dr. Chalmers, and seconded by Dr. Gordon, and this motion was carried against a proposal by Dr. Cook practically to set it aside, by a majority of two hundred and forty-one against one hundred and ten. By the issuing of this formal Claim, Declaration, and Protest,

the Assembly took a very important step. For the first time the alternative was formally and clearly put before the legislature and the people, of having their claim to spiritual independence recognised and admitted by the civil government, or agreeing to relinquish the advantages and emoluments of an Establishment.

On the evening of the 11th of August, 1841, the day on which the Commission of Assembly had met, a very important public meeting was held in St. Cuthbert's Church to discuss the position of ecclesiastical affairs. Fourteen hundred ministers and elders were crowded together in the area, while the galleries were closely packed with a throng of eager listeners. Dr. Chalmers called the attention of the meeting to the alternative of separation from a state-endowed and established church, which many of them would feel bound to adopt should the state refuse to satisfy their just and scriptural claims. He also gave an indication of the method which he had contrived for securing the support of the ministry in case this alternative would have to be faced. He gave them clearly to understand that he scarcely entertained any hope of obtaining redress from the legislature. Similar meetings were held in other parts of the country, and people's minds were thus familiarised with the idea of disruption, and of the possibility of its occurring at an early date.

When the House of Lords not only sanctioned the claim of the presentee to Auchterarder for damages, but sustained the Court of Session's judgment in giving decree requiring the presbytery to take Mr. Young on trials, it was evident that this was a decision which the church could not obey. This was civil coercion to which the church could not submit.

In consequence of the critical position in which those were placed who claimed independent jurisdiction for the church, it was resolved that a meeting should be called of all the ministers who had shown themselves favourable to the non-intrusion cause. The meeting, usually called *The Convocation*, commenced its sittings on the evening of Thurs-

day, 17th November, 1842, the day immediately following the meeting of the Commission, and concluded on Thursday, the 24th. As the purpose of the gathering was to secure the free interchange of opinions and feelings, a small church, called Roxburgh Chapel, was chosen as the place of meeting. The *Times* had anticipated that the meeting would prove an utter failure, that few would attend, and that the dissensions which would arise would break up the party and humble its leaders. But in both respects these evil prognostications failed. No less than four hundred and sixty-five ministers, representing even the remotest parts of north and south, braved the inclemency of a severe winter to attend this gathering. Two series of resolutions were adopted, in which the encroachment of the civil courts was complained of and repudiated, and the duty of the church to show the government the extreme peril by which the establishment was beset was recognised. By order of the Convocation an Address to the People of Scotland was drawn up and widely circulated, and a Memorial to the Government was prepared, in which it was plainly stated that they could not submit to the interference of civil courts in the discharge of their spiritual duties, and that rather than prolong the conflict with the minority in the church who were resolved to obey the law and defy ecclesiastical authority, it might be their duty to retire from their position as connected with the establishment.

In the same year in which the Veto Law had been passed, another measure, as we have seen, known as the Chapel Act, was also put on the statute book of the church. Though the Veto measure had been repudiated by the law courts almost as soon as it had been enacted, it was not until some five years had passed away that any objection was brought against the status given to chapel ministers by that Act. In consequence of the reception of the Old Light Burghers by the Church of Scotland in 1839, *Quoad Sacra* parishes were marked off for these new members of presbyteries. When, however, the Irvine presbytery proposed to assign a parish of this sort to Mr. Clelland of Stewarton, certain

heritors intimated their intention to oppose such an action, and at last, on 20th January, 1843, the judges of the Court of Session, by a majority of eight to five, decided that "the Church had no right to allocate parishes *quoad sacra*, to ordain ministers over them, and to invest these ministers with the right of exercising discipline in their congregations, of having kirk-sessions, or sitting in presbyteries or any superior church courts." This decision had not only the effect of withdrawing all chapel ministers from the courts of the church, but of exposing to doubt the validity of measures and sentences passed in courts where they had been allowed to vote.

Meanwhile the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, had answered the Claim of Right by determinedly refusing any modification of the law as it presently stood, at least in any other way than by supporting the proposals of Lord Aberdeen's bill. On the Commission meeting in the end of January, 1843, to consider this reply, Dr. Cook proposed that the names of the chapel ministers, as now disqualified by a legal decision, should be removed from the roll. When this was not agreed to, he and his party withdrew from the meeting. In the House of Commons in February, Mr. Fox Maule, moved for an enquiry into the grievances complained of in the Church of Scotland, but this was refused. An attempt by Lord Campbell, in the House of Lords, to pass a series of conciliatory resolutions was equally unsuccessful. It had now become evident that the non-intrusionists and those who claimed spiritual independence for the church could hope for nothing from the Government. Plainly they must either abandon what they had so long and so eagerly contended for, or they must secure and enjoy these privileges outside of the Established Church.

Just on the eve of disruption, when the minds of the inhabitants of Scotland, lay and clerical, who had interested themselves in spiritual and ecclesiastical movements, were strained to the utmost, the hearts of all devout and religious people everywhere were grieved by the news of the death of Robert Murray M'Cheyne. This greatly loved

and highly honoured evangelist for somewhat over six years had laboured in Dundee as minister of St. Peter's Church. He had taken a warm interest in the Ten Years' Conflict, and his presence and prayers at the *Convocation* had proved helpful to many. On his return home in his pastoral visits he had caught typhus fever, and died at the early age of thirty on the 25th of March, 1843. His *Memoir and Remains*, edited by his friend Andrew Bonar, and published in Dundee, 1845, has proved one of the most popular books of the century, and in Britain alone has passed through something like a hundred and twenty editions. Two of his hymns, "I once was a stranger to grace and to God," and "When this passing world is done," are found in almost all modern collections.

Before the meeting of Assembly, preparations for what now seemed an inevitable split were being diligently pushed forward. A committee sent out communications to inform the people, and associations for the raising of funds were formed in most parishes. Dr. Chalmers clearly enunciated his proposals for raising a ministerial Sustentation Fund. He had in view specially the needs of ministers and their families in remote and poor districts when they would be no longer in receipt of the incomes provided by endowments. At meetings held in St. Luke's Church, Edinburgh, on the eve of the meeting of the Assembly, a protest was prepared and signed to be presented to the Assembly in which the responsibility of breaking up the church was laid upon the supreme civil power.

The General Assembly began its sittings on Thursday, 18th May, 1843. The Marquess of Bute was the Lord High Commissioner. After sermon in St. Giles by Dr. Welsh, the retiring Moderator, the Assembly was opened in St. Andrew's Church by prayer, and immediately the Moderator proceeded to address the house. After stating that owing to encroachments made upon their liberties they could not constitute the court by the reading of the roll of members, he proceeded to read the protest that had been prepared, and which was signed by two hundred and three

members of the house. He then laid the document upon the table of the Assembly, and, bowing to the Commissioners, moved toward the door. He was immediately joined by Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Patrick Macfarlane, Dr. M'Donald of Ferintosh, and other venerable ministers and church leaders, and then pew by pew was emptied until one whole side and the cross benches were left without occupants. Immense crowds waited their appearing in the street, and opened a way for them as they passed along in orderly procession to the northern suburb of Canonmills, where a commodious hall had been prepared for their reception.

Dr. Welsh opened the proceedings in Tanfield Hall with prayer, and in a short speech proposed Dr. Chalmers as Moderator of the Assembly. The protest, originally signed by two hundred and three members of Assembly, was subsequently signed by other ministers concurring, until the list comprised four hundred and seventy-four names. On the second day of the Assembly, a memorial was presented by one hundred and ninety preachers or licentiates of the church desiring that their names should be added to the list of those adhering to the Free Church.

In St. Andrews Church, as soon as the last of the protesters had passed out, Principal Macfarlane of Glasgow was elected Moderator, the Marquess of Bute presented his commission, and the Queen's letter was read. One after another of those enactments passed by previous Assemblies which the Court of Session had pronounced illegal, were rescinded. The commissions of the deposed ministers of Strathbogie were sustained. The Acts admitting ministers of Parliamentary churches and of chapels of ease to the status of parish ministers were repealed. On the 24th of May, the Assembly appointed a Committee, with Mr. Milne (Home) as convener, to answer the protest which had been left upon the table. On the 29th, the Report of the Committee was given in. A series of resolutions as to the protest had been moved by the Procurator. The report and answer to the protest prepared by Mr. Milne, and proposed by him to be

adopted by the Assembly, were also read. The Committee's report, the Procurator's resolutions, and Mr. Milne's report and answer, were all engrossed in the record. The Assembly thanked the Committee, without pledging themselves to adopt all the views set forth in any of these documents, enlarged the committee, and recommended the whole case to their further consideration, and instructed them to report to the Commission in August. On the 9th of August, the Commission was occupied during a long day with discussion on Lord Aberdeen's bill; and when the convener of the Assembly's Committee gave in his report in answer to the protest, consideration of it was delayed till their meeting on the following day. No quorum appeared next day, nor was there a quorum in November, nor yet in March; the report was never recorded, and no further reference to the protest was ever made.

CHAPTER XII.

*Recent Ecclesiastical Developments and Religious Movements.**

1843—1900.

BEFORE the ecclesiastical movements in the Church of Scotland had resulted in the Disruption and the formation of the Free Church, a controversy arose in the United Secession Church which led to the creation of a new religious denomination. In the beginning of October, 1842, Mr. James Morison, son of the Secession minister of Bathgate, was inducted to the pastoral charge of a Secession church in Kilmarnock. He had previously laboured with great success in the North, and he had entered on his work in Kilmarnock with great spiritual energy and enthusiasm. He was soon charged with preaching that modified Calvinism, which had spread generally among the Independents of Scotland. Within six months of his settlement he was arraigned before his presbytery on the charge of heretical teaching. After a long discussion he was, by a large majority, sentenced to suspension from the ministry and fellowship of the church until he should retract his errors and express sorrow for the offence he had given to his brethren. On appealing to the

* Literature :—Scott, *Annals and Statistics of the Original Secession Church down to 1852*, Edin., 1886 ; Charteris, *Life of Professor James Robertson, D.D.*, Edin., 1863 ; Story, *Life and Remains of Rev. Robert Lee, D.D.*, London, 1870 ; Macleod, *Memoirs of the Rev. Norman Macleod, D.D.*, London, 1872 ; Wilson, *Memorials of R. S. Candlish, D.D.*, Edin., 1889 ; Walker, *Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland*, Edin., 1895 ; Cairns, *Life of John Brown, D.D.*, Edin., 1860 ; M'Ewen, *Life and Letters of Dr. John Cairns, D.D.*, London, 1896 ; *Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen*, ed. by Dr. Hanna, 2 vols., London, 1877 ; Henderson, *Erskine of Linlathen, Selections and Biography*, Edin., 1899.

Synod which met in Glasgow in May, 1841, he was declared no longer connected with the United Secession Church, and all the ministers of that church were prohibited from preaching for him or employing him in any of their public ministrations. His father, who sympathized with him, was similarly dealt with by the Synod of the following year; and in 1843 like sentences were pronounced against Mr. Rutherford of Falkirk and Mr. Guthrie of Kendal. They soon advanced beyond the positions for which they incurred church censure. "From Moderate Calvinism," says Mr. Ross, "Mr. Morison and the others named advanced to the doctrines of universal atonement, universal and resistable grace of the Holy Spirit, conditional election and limited predestination."* The "new views," as they were called, spread rapidly among the people and maintained a lively interest, especially in the West of Scotland.

On 16th May, 1843, a meeting of the expelled ministers and representatives of their churches was held in the vestry of Mr. Morison's church in Kilmarnock. The meeting lasted for three days, and the brethren agreed to form an association under the name of the Evangelical Union, the several churches comprised in it to be formed on the Congregational model. They issued a doctrinal basis, not as a church standard nor a test of communion. Membership in the church was offered to all who are at peace with God and give evidence of being new creatures in Christ Jesus, and who concur with them in regarding the Bible revelation (1) of God's character as our sovereign governor; (2) of our duty as the subjects of His government; (3) of our state and character as rebels against the authority of His government; (4) of the way of salvation by which we and all our fellow rebels may be delivered from the penal and demoralizing consequences of our rebellion. This Bible revelation is thus described in terms of their own distinctive doctrinal views. Soon after this the membership of the Union was increased by

* *A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland*, Glasgow, 1900, p. 140.

the receiving of several ministers and students who had been dissociated from the Congregational Union of Scotland because of their adoption of the "new views." Among them were the Rev. John Kirk, the Rev. Fergus Ferguson and his son of the same name, and Mr. William Bathgate, all of whom afterwards rose to some distinction.

The leaders of the Established Church of Scotland were willing to accept of the ecclesiastical reforms embodied in Lord Aberdeen's bill. Previous to the Disruption, Dr. Cook's party, as distinguished from the non-intrusionists, had always shown themselves satisfied with its provisions. Accordingly, after having been formally approved by the August Commission, it was again introduced in Parliament, and before the close of the year it had become law. It was now known as the Scottish Benefices Act. Another measure was brought forward by Sir James Graham and passed into law which practically gave Parliamentary sanction to the Chapels Act, which as a mere ordinance of the church had been found to want legal validity. By means of this law some three hundred chapels became *quoad sacra* parish churches and their ministers received the status of parish ministers, with independent kirk sessions and seats in the church courts.

During the years that immediately followed the Disruption, rapid progress was made by the Free Church in every direction. The two churches, indeed, had both of them to face difficulties of the most serious character. The Established Church had the revenues, the churches and the manses, but they wanted the men. Some of the most important pulpits and parishes were vacant, and it was for a time a matter of necessity to fill these with what material they had. It can scarcely be wondered at that in the majority of cases the new appointments were most unsatisfactory, and that their introduction lowered for years to come the tone and character of the ministry of the church. On the other hand, the Free Church had the men, but she had to find the stipends and the buildings. Wealthy sympathisers here and there built churches and manses for par-

ticular congregations in their own districts, and in many cases congregations were able to erect their ecclesiastical buildings at their own cost, but the great majority of the congregations were poor and needed large help from the central fund. In some places it took a considerable time before they were able to get buildings of any sort erected, and many worshipped for months together in barns, wooden sheds, gravel pits, stack yards and the road sides. In many parts of the country the landed proprietors or their factors were bitterly opposed to the new cause and refused sites or any sort of accommodation over which they had any control; and in some cases, where one or two such landlords owned the whole parish, the church, when it came to be erected, had to be placed outside of the parish boundaries. Many of the ministers endured such privations for want of proper residences and from being required to preach in cold and damp places, that their health was shattered and in some instances early death resulted from the exposure which they endured. Notwithstanding all the difficulties that were put in the way, amazing progress was made on every side. Before two years had passed five hundred churches were opened, and by the end of 1848 no less than seven hundred were occupied. Over £360,000 had been raised for the Building Fund.

The great undertaking, however, which those who had been prominent in counselling the ministers throughout the country to take the step which severed them from all the advantages of an endowed and established church felt themselves obliged to see at once carried out efficiently, was the forming of a large and reliable fund to provide ministerial support. It was seen that seat rents and church door collections might be largely required for local and congregational purposes, and so Dr. Chalmers before the Disruption had actually taken place indicated the outlines of a plan which he had devised for raising a Sustentation Fund year after year, by means of stated contributions gathered by collectors appointed in all congregations for the purpose. In the first year this fund reached to £68,000 and gave an

equal dividend to each minister of £105 ; fifty years later it reached £175,000, affording an equal dividend of £160, and a movement was recently set on foot to raise the minimum stipend to £200, with such a measure of success that the end contemplated was nearly attained. The names of Dr. Robert Buchanan and Dr. Ross Taylor of Glasgow are honourably associated with the management of this great scheme.

Thomas Guthrie of St. John's, Edinburgh, the most popular preacher in the city, undertook to raise a fund for the building of manses, and devoted a year to the work. When he appeared before the Assembly of 1846 he was able to report that over £116,000 had been raised for this purpose, which allowed the committee to give £200 in aid to each congregation building a manse. The training of young men for the ministry of the church called for immediate attention. There were two theological professors already available in the persons of Dr. Chalmers, who had been professor of Divinity in Edinburgh University since 1828, and Dr. Welsh, who had been professor of Ecclesiastical History in the same university since 1831. Besides these, other two were appointed by the Glasgow Assembly of November, 1843: Dr. John Duncan, usually called the Rabbi, an Aberdonian, but at this time missionary to the Jews at Pesth, a marvellous linguist and orientalist, but eccentric to a degree that made him practically useless as a teacher, was made professor of Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis, and Dr. William Cunningham, who after Chalmers's death became the distinguished principal of the College, was appointed professor of Apologetics. Regarding the subjects taught in the Metaphysical and Ethical classes as closely allied to theology, it seemed desirable to have them taught by men in whom they had confidence. Accordingly the Revs. A. C. Fraser and P. C. M'Dougal were appointed to teach these subjects respectively. They were afterwards appointed to the philosophical chairs in the University, and the Free Church College has since continued to be simply a Divinity Hall. The New College buildings on the Mound, Edinburgh, were

opened in 1850, a handsome structure which cost over £40,000, well endowed, with a very large and valuable library. At Aberdeen there had been first one, and afterwards two professors, whose classes were allowed to count as part of a curriculum, but in 1855 suitable buildings were provided and a fully equipped college established in the northern city. Similarly in Glasgow, in 1856, two gifts, amounting together to £45,000 having been offered, a third Free Church College was founded with Dr. Patrick Fairbairn at its head.

All the foreign missionaries of the Church of Scotland threw in their lot with the Free Church. In Calcutta Dr. Duff had begun his great work in 1829, Dr. Thomas Smith had joined him in 1839, and an educational institution had been erected at great cost, largely through the personal exertions and influence of Dr. Duff. In Bombay Dr. Wilson had been working since 1828, and Dr. Murray Mitchell since 1838, and in Madras Mr. John Anderson had laboured since 1837, and in both places buildings of considerable value had been erected. In all the three presidencies there were twelve missionaries who were now with their work thrown upon the young and struggling church for their support. In an amazingly short time funds were raised which allowed these missions to be carried on in an even more extensive and successful way than before, and the work was soon extended to other parts of India and to other heathen countries.

Dr. Robertson of Ellon succeeded Dr. Welsh as professor of Church History in Edinburgh. He had proved a perfect model parish minister, and though on the Moderate side of church politics, and a churchman equal in grasp and debating power to Dr. Cook himself, he was an earnest and devout Christian, with large evangelical sympathies and beliefs. He was heartily devoted to the interests of the church, and had all the enthusiasm and perseverance necessary for the successful carrying out of any great church scheme. A better appointment than that of Dr. Robertson as convener of the Church's Committee for the Endowment of Chapels could not be conceived. Dr. Chalmers had succeeded in

getting over two hundred chapels built, and it was now proposed to raise money in order to get these chapels endowed. It was necessary to secure an endowment of £120 for a chapel before it could be in the terms of the Benefices Act erected into a *quoad sacra* parish. A capital sum of £3000 was thus needed in order to endow a chapel, and Robertson's scheme proposed to pay one half and allow the other half to be raised locally. Between 1846 and 1854 thirty new parishes were erected and endowed. In 1854 a Provincial Endowment scheme was started to suit poorer localities where half the cost could not be secured in the district. According to this scheme, when £40,000 was raised in any one of the four districts into which Scotland was divided, £2000, or two-thirds of the whole, were given to each of the first twenty chapels which should be ready with its one thousand pounds. Before his death, in 1860, two of the provinces had raised their £40,000, and altogether sixty new chapels were added to the parishes of the Church of Scotland. The work which Dr. Robertson inaugurated so nobly went on prosperously after he was gone, so that between 1847 and 1887, four hundred and four new parishes had been erected, with a membership of over 200,000.

Besides the Established and Free Churches, there were in Scotland other two which belonged to the Presbyterian order in respect of church government and to the Evangelical and Calvinistic in respect of doctrine—the United Secession and the Relief Churches. The United Secession was constituted by the reunion of those who could trace their descent to the secession of the Erskines, the Relief had an unbroken descent from Thomas Gillespie and the younger Boston. The earlier seceders had never looked with kindly eye upon their followers in dissent. The Secession Church was notoriously exclusive, and in its earlier days at least intolerant of anything in the way of fraternising with other communions; but the Relief from the very outset invited and warmly welcomed as occasional communicants evangelical Episcopalians and Independents, and indeed any who

professed love for the Lord Jesus Christ. In their earlier days, and especially in some of the smaller divisions into which for a time they split, the Seceders had made much of covenanting and testimony bearing, while these exercises were not practised or recognised in the Relief. Latterly, however, Secession and Relief were drawing much more closely together. Negotiations with a view to effecting a union were carried on for a time by means of committees appointed by both churches. Among the Seceders it took some time and a considerable amount of investigation and explanation before all were satisfied. At last all difficulties were removed, and on 13th May, 1847, the United Secession and Relief Synods met as one in Tanfield Hall, Canonmills, where the first Free Church Assembly had met, and assumed the name by which they were afterwards known, *The United Presbyterian Church*. One hundred and fourteen years before their churches numbered four, now they numbered four hundred and ninety-seven. The Secession contributed 384, the Relief 114, congregations. Though not so aggressive as either of the other great Presbyterian churches of Scotland in Home Mission work, the United Presbyterian Church has been specially energetic and successful in certain of the Colonies and in the Foreign Mission field.

In consequence of the Free Church Assembly of 1851 adopting an Act and Declaration which identified their church with the historic Church of Scotland of the Reformation period, the majority of the Original Seceders found themselves in a position to welcome and promote a union with that body. The historian of Knox and Melville had died in 1835, but the denomination was now headed by his son of the same name. On the 24th April, 1852, the Synod of United Original Seceders met in Glasgow and, by a majority of one, agreed to union with the Free Church; of ministers, however, counting those who were absent from the Synod, twenty-three joined the Free Church, while thirteen declined to unite. The union was consummated in the Free Assembly Hall on the evening of Tuesday, 1st June, 1852.

The Reformed Presbyterian Church, the members of which were popularly called Cameronians or MacMillanites, found it from year to year increasingly difficult to enforce, as a term of communion, the abstaining from the use of the franchise, or accepting any civic office where an oath was imposed. The Synod of 1833 had condemned the use of the franchise, yet it was certain that some had been disregarding the injunction. The Synod of 1848 declared that Reformed Presbyterians might petition the House of Commons, but not the House of Lords, as that would imply recognition of the bishops as Lords Spiritual. As there existed a considerable amount of uncertainty, petitions were addressed to the Synod asking for a deliverance on the whole subject of oaths. At last, in 1858, a series of three Resolutions was adopted to the effect that none of their members can hold fellowship with the civil government by composing a part of the legislature or by taking oaths for the maintenance of the constitution, that they cannot sit in parliament themselves nor by their representatives, that there is no solid reason to depart from this position, and that in these matters practice should be brought into agreement with the Testimony. The question as to whether discipline should be exercised on those who voted, and refused to promise to abstain from doing so in future, continued to be agitated for some years. The Synod of 1862 sent down to presbyteries an Overture to the effect that, considering the diversity of opinion, while recommending members of the church to abstain from exercising the franchise, they find no warrant in the Word of God for suspending or expelling those who do so, or who take the oath believing that in doing so they are not giving approbation to the evils of the constitution. In the following year an amendment for rejecting the overture was moved. For the motion there voted 46, for the amendment 11, while seven declined to vote. Altogether, four ministers withdrew from the Synod with their congregations and portions of others. The Minority Reformed Presbyterian Synod has now nine congregations with seven minis-

ters and a membership of over eleven hundred communicants. It carries on a small but interesting mission in Syria.

In 1858 a case came before the Free Church Assembly which was the occasion of infinite trouble. Mr. Macmillan of Cardross had been charged before the presbytery of Dumbarton with several acts of drunkenness, under a libel of three counts, of which it held the first not proven, and the second and the third partly proven. On appeal to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, the second and third counts were found not proven. The case was brought up by appeal before the Assembly on 24th May, and after a long discussion and motion was carried by 152 to 41, finding the second and third counts proven, and not only overturning the Synod's decision, but finding the whole charge in the third count as in the original libel proven, part of which had been passed from by the presbytery and not appealed against. This was regarded by some as incompetent, and by many as quite needless, seeing that there was quite sufficient in the parts of the libel appealed upon to provide material for the case. On the 28th of May, a member of Assembly laid upon the table a copy of Note of Suspension and Interdict for the Rev. John Macmillan against the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1858. This being an application by Mr. Macmillan to a civil court to suspend the sentence of Assembly just reported, and to interdict its execution, the Assembly resolved to summon Mr. Macmillan in regular form to appear at their bar on Tuesday, 1st June, at noon. On his appearance there he was asked by the Moderator whether the application for his interdict was at his instance or by his authority. On his admitting that it was, Dr. Candlish at once moved his deposition, which was unanimously agreed to. A committee was then appointed to watch over the interests of the church in the progress of the case in the courts of law. Immediately after his deposition, Mr. Macmillan raised an action in the Court of Session against the General Assembly, naming Dr. Candlish, who had made the motion, and some others, for the reduction of sentence and damages. The

Court ordered the production of the sentence, resolutions, and whole proceedings in the case. It was explained that all that was sought was reliable information on the subject. The church was represented by the ablest advocates of the day, afterwards well known as Lord Moncrieff, Lord Young, and Lord Rutherford Clark. The judges of the First Division were unanimous in finding that it lay with the Court of Session to set aside the sentence in so far as it stood in the way of damages being accorded if these were found due. The Lord President on a later occasion intimated that as the Assembly of 1858 had ceased to exist, money damages could be got only by a process against individuals charging them with malice. Mr. Macmillan at once abandoned his original case, and brought an action for damages against individuals, but for some reason or other he did not prosecute this case, and the whole affair thus came to an end without having settled in any way the question that originally had been raised.

From the time of the Reformation onwards church and school had been most intimately associated in Scottish history. The parish schools and General Assembly schools under the Church of Scotland had been supplemented after the Disruption by no fewer than seven hundred schools, erected and managed by the Educational Committee of the Free Church. In 1862, a bill was passed in parliament which did away with the requirement that teachers of parochial schools should be members of the Established Church, but as the parish minister had the right of nominating to certain parochial offices which the teachers usually held, his influence over the teachers and in the school continued to be very considerable. The schools were also still examined and superintended by the local presbytery of the Church of Scotland. From 1847 onwards attempts had been made by government to introduce a method of fostering national education by means of a system of grants in aid; but difficulties that arose, on the one hand, from the proposal to give religious instruction of a denominational character, and, on the other hand, from the fear of the introduction of a purely

secular education, prevented the maturing of any successful plan for about a quarter of a century. Many of the Free Church leaders, like Dr. William Cunningham, argued in favour of grants in aid from government for purely secular subjects, to be enjoyed alike by members of all religious communities. It is certain that the existence of the Free Church schools, and the attitude of the Educational Committee of the Free Church, did much to hasten the passing of the Education Act of 1872. All the parochial schools at once of necessity under this Act became National Schools, and most of the Free Church Schools were immediately transferred to the new boards, under which religious instruction is given at a special hour, and under the protection of the conscience clause, which allows parents to keep back their children from the Scripture lesson, without causing them to suffer any disadvantage.

The Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church had been gradually coming into closer relations with one another, and many in the Free Church were feeling that the very possibility of their resuming connection with the State on any other than Erastian principles had now become hopeless. In 1862, negotiations with a view to union between the two denominations were begun by each of the two bodies appointing a committee to consider the question and to propose, if possible, a basis of union. The Free Church Committee, under the convenership of Dr. Robert Buchanan of Glasgow, drew up a programme, naming as points on which enquiry should be made, the relation of the civil magistrate to the Church, doctrine, training of the ministry, organization, worship, education, finance, admission to sealing ordinances, and relation to other churches outside of Scotland. The question as to the amount of agreement between the two churches on the first point occupied the joint committee for a considerable time. Each church maintained its own position, but, in opposition to Dr. Julius Wood of Dumfries, who held that he could never consent to regard adhesion to the establishment principle and voluntaryism as open questions, the Commit-

tee passed on to consider how the churches stood in relation to one another in respect of doctrinal belief. Here, again, very serious objection was taken by several members of the Free Church committee against what they regarded as the prevailing doctrine of the Atonement in the United Presbyterian Church. In order to have a fuller discussion of the matter, Dr. Wood, by means of an overture from the Synod of Dumfries, brought the subject before the Assembly of 1869. He charged the United Presbyterian Church with favouring or tolerating what is called the double reference of the atonement, that in a sense Christ died for all, that His death had a general reference to all men, as well as a special reference to the elect, and that in the general reference lay the ground of the free and universal offer of the gospel. At this Assembly a motion was carried to pause, in opposition to one that proposed to stop, negotiations.

During the years following the cause of the union seemed to be progressing, but the opposition appeared also to increase in violence, and the excitement among the people of the Free Church, especially in the north, was very great. In 1872 a protest against taking any further steps toward union was laid on the table of the Free Church Assembly, signed by 60,000 persons. In face of determined resistance, it was at last resolved that negotiations should be dropped, and a motion to this effect, coupled with expressions of keen disappointment and of the assurance that these negotiations should afterwards be resumed, and successfully carried out, was made by Dr. Candlish in the Assembly of 1873. The Mutual Eligibility Overture, however, which had been approved by a majority of presbyteries, was now passed into law. It placed United Presbyterian ministers in the same position as ministers in the English and Colonial Presbyterian churches, so that Free Church congregations might call United Presbyterian ministers and United Presbyterian congregations Free Church ministers. The United Presbyterian Church, under the leadership of

Drs. Harper and Cairns, had been practically unanimous in favour of union.

Among those in the Free Church who had opposed union with the United Presbyterians, there were some who looked hopefully toward union with the Established Church. These hopes had been raised by a movement in favour of the abolition of patronage which had begun within the Establishment. The Benefices Act, which was a re-enactment, with slight modifications, of Lord Aberdeen's bill of 1840, had not given satisfaction. Every disputed settlement under this Act involved a law-suit, and occasioned delay, expense, and heart-burning. The Assembly of 1869 condemned patronage, as the root of the whole evil, and petitioned parliament for its abolition. An anti-patronage committee was appointed, and in the end of June, Dr. Norman Macleod and others waited on Mr. Gladstone in London, and represented to him the views of the church. The Prime Minister seems to have given no opinion regarding the proposal, but asked how the other presbyterian communions in Scotland would view it, and what effect its adoption might have on their relations to the Established Church. It was not until August, 1874, that Mr. Disraeli's government passed the Church Patronage Act, which provides that the right of appointing and electing ministers in future to vacant churches and parishes shall vest in the congregations. This has, undoubtedly, done much to popularise the church, and has given her the means of working out many other reforms and improvements. It has not, however, led to the inaugurating of any serious movement toward union with the Free Church, which could agree to enter upon negotiations only upon the basis of the Claim of Rights.

A very considerable impetus was given to the Home Mission and Church Extension work of the Church of Scotland by the munificent gift of Mr. James Baird of Cambusdoon, in 1873, of £500,000, to assist in providing the means of meeting, or at least, as far as possible, promoting the mitigation of spiritual destitution among the people of Scotland. Many new churches have been built or largely

aided by the Baird Trust, and in many cases local effort to secure or increase the endowment of churches has been encouraged by the contributions given from this fund.

In the union negotiations of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church, which were suspended in 1873, these two churches had been joined by the Reformed Presbyterian Church, which was regarded as in many respects very closely approximating to the position of the Free Church. In the following year the joint union committee of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches gave them an invitation, which was cordially accepted, to join in the union proceedings. Their anti-voluntary position was all that the opponents of union with the United Presbyterians could desire. In 1874, after the suspension of negotiations between the United Presbyterian and Free Churches, the Reformed Presbyterians, under the leadership of Dr. Goold, responded heartily to an invitation from the Free Church to consider the question of union, and in the following year the overture for union with the Reformed Presbyterian Church was approved by the presbyteries of the Free Church, to which it had been sent down under the Barrier Act. In the Free Assembly of 1876 this overture was, therefore, passed into an Act, and the members of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod were formally received into union with the Free Church. Of the thirty-eight ministers of the Synod, only one, the Rev. Thomas Easton of Stranraer, refused to enter into the union. On the part of the Free Church the union was unanimously and most heartily approved, and the amalgamation of the two denominations now became absolutely perfect.

During the last thirty years there has been throughout all the Scottish churches a remarkable literary and scientific awakening, accompanied by a considerable amount of unsettlement and theological discussion. In almost all the theological seminaries in Scotland there were influential and inspiring teachers who, in various directions, gave stimulus to their students, especially in critical and speculative studies, and it had become customary for some of the best

students to add to their home training a session or more at a German university under distinguished philosophical and theological professors. The younger ministers, too, as well as the students at the various divinity halls, were giving attention to the study of German theology, so that their views, not only of doctrine, but also of questions connected with the criticism of the Old and New Testament, were widened, and the range of subjects in regard to which their minds were exercised was greatly enlarged.

Prominent among the Scottish professors who most powerfully influenced the scientific study of theology in the earlier years of the period referred to were Principal John Caird of Glasgow and Professor A. B. Davidson of Edinburgh. These two great teachers, in different departments and each in his own way, exercised a very remarkable influence upon the students under their care, and put a special impress on the character and attitude of a large number of the younger ministers of their respective churches. Dr. Caird, after a ministry of seventeen years, during which time he served his church in the parishes of Newton-on-Ayr, Lady Yester's, Edinburgh, Errol, and Park Church, Glasgow, and earned the reputation of being one of the most eloquent and accomplished preachers of Scotland, was appointed professor of Divinity in Glasgow University in 1862. He had made a very thorough study of philosophy, especially in its relation to religion, and was largely influenced by Hegelian theories. His teaching on the questions discussed in the prolegomena to dogmatics was strongly coloured by the formalism, as well as by the substantial contents, of Hegel's Philosophy of Religion. His divinity lectures were mainly critical and historical, and he took special pains to show the philosophical grounds on which all the cardinal Christian doctrines are based. His whole procedure, and the general tone of his teaching, were living and fresh and inspiring, and an altogether new interest and importance were given to the study of theology in Scotland, as thus taught, when contrasted with the dry, formal tabulating of doctrinal definitions in terms of scripture and the symbolical books,

which had previously prevailed in the Scottish theological schools. Dr. A. B. Davidson, without having previously engaged in any pastoral work, was appointed professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College of Edinburgh in 1862. He soon acquired a great reputation as a teacher, and has been long recognised, not only throughout Britain, but also among continental Semitic scholars, as a master in his own department, and is listened to as an authority in all matters pertaining to the language and literature of the Old Testament. His commentaries in the Cambridge Bible on Job, on Ezekiel, on Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah, show his singular skill as a critic and interpreter, as well as his admirable literary power, while his *Elementary Hebrew Grammar* and *Hebrew Syntax* show his practical ability as a teacher of the Hebrew language. More than anything else, his lectures to his students on the theology of the Old Testament, and especially on prophecy and the messages of the prophets of Israel, have opened up to many altogether new views of divine revelation before Christ, and have given a freshness and reality to the Old Testament history, which had not been perceived or understood before.

In both of the departments of study which the distinguished teachers referred to did so much to open up, eager and zealous students had been working, and in some cases the publication of their researches produced, if not a panic, at least a considerable alarm and excitement, in the churches and among the religious public of Scotland. In 1880 there appeared a volume of discourses, contributed by more or less distinguished ministers of the Church of Scotland, and entitled *Scotch Sermons*. For a time it awakened no general interest, and failed even to secure any considerable circulation. But when an outcry was raised against the teaching of some of the discourses, the book was at once in demand all over the country, and soon ran through several editions. One of the sermons was regarded as specially objectionable, and its author was charged with heresy before the Assembly of 1881. After explanations had been made,

he was admonished to be more cautious in future so that his statement of the opinions of others which he repudiated might not be mistaken for his own. A much more extreme position was assumed by Dr. William Mackintosh of the parish of Buchanan, who, soon after he had retired from the ministry, published an exceedingly able and elaborate work entitled, *The Natural History of the Christian Religion: being a study of the Doctrine of Jesus as Developed from Judaism and converted into Dogma* (Glasgow, 1894), in which the supernatural was wholly eliminated from Christianity. This work, however, stands alone as the solitary instance of an attempt, by one who continued to regard himself as within the Christian church, to reconstruct the theory of religion from the avowed standpoint of anti-supernaturalism.

In 1878 the General Assembly of the Free Church had brought before them by appeal from the presbytery of Aberdeen the case of Professor Robertson Smith, who had been libelled as having, in various publications, given expression to views in regard to the character, date and authorship of certain Old Testament books, and also as having set forth a general view of Old Testament revelation, contrary to the Confession of Faith and to the recognised teaching of the Church. He was charged with asserting that the Aaronic priesthood, or at least a great part of the laws and ordinances of the Levitical system, were not divinely instituted in the time of Moses, and that those portions of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers bearing on their institution were inserted long after that time; that Deuteronomy is not a historical document, but a record of later laws and institutions dramatically represented as uttered by Moses; that in the inspired writings errors and incorrect explanations occur, that fictitious speeches are assigned to historical characters, and that some things were written under the influence of party spirit and for party purposes; that he described canonical books as fictitious, attributed to them what is disparaging, and stated discrediting opinions of others without indicating his own dissent; that Canticles is devoid of any spiritual

significance and only presents a high example of virtue, and that only a mistaken allegorical interpretation happily prevented its exclusion from the canon ; that he held opinions which contradicted or ignored the testimony of our Lord and his Apostles to the authorship of the Old Testament scriptures ; that he represented prophecy as consisting only in spiritual insight and excluding prediction of future events by supernatural revelation ; and that belief in angels is matter of assumption rather than of direct teaching, and that the ascription of human-like qualities to them is a popular superstition, not a doctrine of revelation. In support of these charges the libel quoted from Professor Smith's articles, *Angel, Bible, Canticles, Chronicles*, in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, of which he was then sub-editor and afterwards editor-in-chief. A few quotations were also made from some of Mr. Smith's contributions to periodical literature. The case occupied the attention of presbytery, synod and assembly during three years, and at last in the Assembly of 1880 the libel was found ripe for probation, but instead of being sent down to the presbytery of Aberdeen that it might proceed to probation, it was resolved that the Assembly at a later diet should consider what course might be pursued in order to bring the case to a conclusion with the least possible delay. On Thursday, therefore, the 27th May, the Assembly, after a discussion which occupied the whole of the morning and evening seditious, passed a motion by 301 to 292 withdrawing the libel, but finding Professor Smith blameworthy for the unguarded and incomplete statements of his articles, and instructing the Moderator to admonish him, and declaring that no opinion is given in favour of the truth or probability of these critical views.

It was hoped that with this decision the case would really end, and that Professor Smith would find some room within the Free Church to continue his scientific studies, without the church being regarded as committed to any particular conclusion which he might reach. However, it so happened that the new volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which

appeared soon after the rising of the Assembly, contained an article by Professor Smith on "Hebrew Language and Literature," in which were many statements which those who had objected to his earlier articles regarded as even more objectional than anything he had written before. It was thought by some that he should have referred to this article as already beyond his control when, in response to the Moderator's admonition, he expressed regret at having given utterance to his views in so incomplete a measure as to cause such division of opinion in the church. Professor Smith, however, did not think that any apology of this sort was necessary. He understood the decision of the Assembly as declaring that the critical views for which he had been libelled were not to be made matters of discipline, and that, therefore, he was quite free to give utterance to the results of his critical studies. The August Commission appointed a committee to consider the article, and to report to a special meeting of Commission in October. The report submitted to the October Commission took a serious view of matters, holding the treatment of scripture in the article to be such as is fitted to discredit its authority, and to make it appear as if the Bible is to be accounted for by the same laws as determine the growth of any other literature, without any adequate recognition of the divine element in its production.

In the Assembly of 1881 a motion was proposed asking that a committee should be appointed to consider the writings in question, with power, if necessary, to prosecute Professor Smith for heresy before the presbytery of Aberdeen, and in any case to report to next Assembly. Another motion, however, was proposed by Dr. Rainy, and was carried by 428 to 245, declaring it no longer safe or advantageous for the church that Professor Smith should continue to teach in one of her colleges. On the ground declared in this motion, not in the exercise of discipline, but in the exercise of the church's power of administration, as a measure required for the well-being and preservation of the church, it was determined by a large vote, at a later diet of

Assembly, that the Professorship of Hebrew in Aberdeen be declared vacant. While by this decision Mr. Smith ceased to be a professor, he retained his position as minister of the Free Church, and, as a matter of fact, he sat as a member in the Assembly of the following year, returned by a kirk-session with an elder's commission.

In order to supply a popular exposition of the tendency and ascertained results of Old Testament criticism, Mr. Smith delivered in Edinburgh and Glasgow two courses of twelve lectures each, in the beginning of 1881 and 1882 respectively, to very large and deeply interested audiences. These lectures were immediately afterwards published under the title: *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (2nd edition, 1892), and *The Prophets of Israel and their Place in History*. In 1882 the University of Aberdeen, his *alma mater*, conferred on Mr. Smith the honorary degree of LL.D. His subsequent career was outside of Scotland and the Scottish Church. The editing of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, as well as the writing of original articles for that great work, occupied a good deal of his time. Meanwhile, his reputation as a scholar was becoming more and more widely known. In 1883 he was appointed Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. He held this post till 1886, continuing his oriental studies, and issuing as the outcome of these, in 1885, his work on *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, in which evidence is gathered in favour of M'Lennan's theory of primitive marriage. In 1886 he was elected to the important and much prized position of Librarian to the University; and in 1889 he became professor of Arabic as successor to the famous Dr. William Wright. He had been elected Fellow of Christ's College in 1885. In 1889 he delivered in Aberdeen the Burnett Lectures, which were published under the title: *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*. After a long and heroic struggle with a painful disease, he died on 31st March, 1894.

At this point it may be fitting to record the institution of certain Lectureships on theological and religious subjects

which have contributed largely to promote the cultivation of theological studies in Scotland. In 1862, Dr. Webster, a retired surgeon of the East India Company, founded a Lectureship in memory of Dr. Cunningham and known by his name, which is held by each lecturer for three years. It has called forth besides many other able works, such treatises as Candlish's *Fatherhood of God* (1865), Walker's *Theology and Theologians of Scotland* (1870), Bruce's *Humiliation of Christ* (1875), Smeaton's *Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (1882), and Salmond's *Christian Doctrine of Immortality* (1895), most of which have got into third editions, and have been accepted as most valuable contributions to theological science. In 1872, Mr. James Baird of Cambusdoon endowed a Lectureship, bearing the name of the donor, which has called forth the invaluable works of Dr. Flint on *Theism* (1876) and *Anti-Theistic Theories* (1877), Dr. Mitchell's *Westminster Assembly* (1882), and *Epochs in the History of the Reformed Church of Scotland* (1899), Dr. Dickson's *St. Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit* (1883), and Dr. Milligan's *Revelation of St. John* (1885), and *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord* (1891). A few years later the Croall Lectureship was founded, also in connection with the Established Church, which has produced such substantial works as Caird's *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion* (1880) and Dr. John Patrick's *St. Clement of Alexandria* (1900). In the Free Church a Lectureship in memory of Dr. Chalmers and called by his name, was founded in 1880 by Mr. Macfie of Airds on the "Headship of Christ over his Church and its independent Spiritual Jurisdiction," or, as widened in its scope by the Committee, "some other aspect of the Reformation Doctrine of the Church and Kingdom of Christ." In the United Presbyterian Church there is the Kerr Lectureship, founded in 1886, which has produced the very able and comprehensive work of Dr. Orr, entitled *The Christian View of God and the World* (1893), and also Dr. Forrest's *The Christ of History and of Experience* (1897). The Gifford Lectureship in the four universities, though not

connected with any of the churches, has called forth, to mention only works by Scotchmen belonging to one or other of the churches, Professor Campbell Fraser, *Philosophy of Theism* (1895), Dr. Edward Caird, *Evolution of Christianity* (1893), Professor A. B. Bruce, *The Providential Order of the World* (1897), *The Moral Order of the World in Ancient and Modern Thought* (1899), and Principal Caird, *The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, delivered in 1892 and 1895, but only published posthumously in 1899.

In all the Presbyterian churches of Scotland, complaints were made from time to time of the difficulty experienced in getting men to accept office as elders and deacons, who were in every respect highly qualified for the position and fitted to render admirable service to the church, who yet scrupled at subscription to the Westminster Confession without being allowed to give some explanation of the extent to which they felt bound by that subscription.

Repeated attempts were made by Dr. Story and others before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to secure some relaxation to the formula of creed subscription, at least for the elders, who, as it was said, could not be expected to study in detail so elaborate a document as the Confession of Faith, and who were not required to do so by any statute law. No success, however, attended these efforts for several years, until, in 1889, after the presbyteries had given their approval, a new formula, affording relief both to ministers and elders, was agreed to almost unanimously. This movement in the Church of Scotland had been greatly furthered by the literary labours and personal influence of Principal Tulloch of St. Andrews. Born in Perthshire in 1823, and educated at St. Andrews and Edinburgh, he was, after serving the church as parish minister, for some ten years, appointed principal of St. Mary's, and professor of St. Andrews in 1854, and senior principal of the University in 1860. In the early years of his ministry, he had studied in Germany and had come under the influence of the liberal theology which, during the years previous to the middle of the century, was attracting the attention of the

younger theologians of Scotland. While essentially evangelical, he maintained a free attitude toward the critical school in history and philosophy. His *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy* (1872), and his *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century* (1885), though already well nigh forgotten, or at least treated as antiquated and somewhat superficial, were influential in their day, and opened up to many new fields for investigation, and gave a much-needed impetus to honest and reverent enquiry. He died in 1885, but the liberal movements which were soon after successfully carried out, were accomplished by men who had been largely indebted to his teaching and example, many of whom are proud to be regarded as his scholars.

In the Free Church a Committee was appointed by the General Assembly to consider the relations of the church to the Confession of Faith, and after some years were spent in careful consideration of the several points raised, a Declaratory Act was passed by the Assembly of 1892, embodying the results of the Committee's deliberations, and stating under several heads how it seemed that difficulties which had been felt in regard to some of the sections of the Confession might be explained without affecting the integrity of the authorised standards of the church. A special disclaimer of all intolerant and persecuting principles was made in view of certain statements of the Confession of Faith, and it was declared that in subscribing the Confession, no one was committed to anything inconsistent with liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment. It was also declared very emphatically that the doctrine of the love of God to sinners, especially in the gift of His Son as propitiation for sin, stands in the forefront of the revelation of grace, that all who hear the gospel are warranted and required to believe, and that the loss of those who do not believe and so perish is due to their rejection of this offer, that the Confession is not held as teaching that any who die in infancy are lost, or that God may not extend his mercy for Christ's sake and by His Holy Spirit to those who

are beyond the reach of the ordinary means of salvation as may seem good to him in the riches of His grace. And finally, this Act declares that, while diversity of opinion is recognised in this church on such points in the Confession as do not enter into the substance of the Reformed Faith, the church retains the full authority to determine in any case which may arise, what points fall within this description, and thus to guard against any abuse of this liberty to the detriment of sound doctrine, or to the injuring of her unity and peace. Considerable objection was taken to the passing of the Declaratory Act of the Free Church, especially in the North, where a secession took place of a large number of members and adherents, including two ordained ministers and several students. The students adhering to the secession were licensed, and some of them ordained over seceding congregations throughout the Highlands, and in Edinburgh and Glasgow over Highland secessionists. Two of those ordained by the secessionists have joined the Established Church, one carrying a part of his congregation with him. On the other hand, the relief afforded by the Declaratory Act has proved acceptable to many, and has secured the services of some who, apart from this, would have felt obliged to stand aside.

In the United Presbyterian Church, the movement in the direction of determining the relation of the church to the Confessional documents took rise earlier than in the other denominations. The disruption of 1843 had influenced the course of thought and action both in the Established and the Free Church in an ecclesiastical direction, whereas the period of purely ecclesiastical discussion was now past in the Secession Church. While, therefore, in the other two churches the ministers were largely occupied with questions of church extension and organisation, the students and younger ministers of the Burgher and Relief Churches had more time and inclination for the study of theology and of the philosophical problems connected with it. Some of them were among the first to go from Scotland to study under German teachers, and the leader among them of a

more critical study of history and apologetics was John Cairns. This great man, born in 1813 at Ayton in Berwickshire, spent nearly twelve months in 1843-1844 studying at Berlin and travelling over the Continent. When between 1877 and 1879 discussions arose in regard to the Confession, which some wished to treat as a merely historical document, Cairns led his church in the direction of retaining the Confession untouched, while appending an explanatory statement which would meet the case of those who scrupled at some of its expressions. In contrast to the course of matters in the other churches, the question was forced upon the attention of the United Presbyterian Church by the presentation of formal demands for the revision of the standards before the Glasgow presbytery by two of its members, Mr. David Macrae of Gourock and Mr. Fergus Ferguson of Queen's Park. Mr. Macrae confined his attention to the question of everlasting punishment. He insisted that the statements of the Confession of Faith were not in accordance with the teaching of scripture, and were in conflict with Christian conviction and sentiment. Mr. Ferguson made objection to the Confession as defective at various points in its teaching about God, the world and man, Christ, the church, etc. These complaints were brought up before the Synod of 1877. It was resolved by the Synod of 1878 that no alteration should be made on the Confession, but that a Declaratory Act should be prepared, which in the following year was adopted, in which the love of God to men was emphasised, and a statement made on the doctrine of predestination, on total depravity, the destiny of the heathen and infants, etc. The case of Mr. Ferguson was proceeded with, conferences with him were held, and explanations asked and given, and those being at last found satisfactory, the case was ended. He continues to occupy an honourable position within the church, but has never, beyond his own congregation, either by writing or teaching, given expression to his theological opinions. Mr. Macrae, however, persisted in urging his objections to the church doctrine in the most violent and

extreme way. He maintained that the church should tolerate the acceptance and proclamation within her bounds both of the theory of conditional immortality and of that of universal restoration. This the church, under the leading of Dr. Cairns, refused to do, inasmuch as such views are inconsistent with fundamental and essential doctrines of the church's confession. Mr. Macrae then gave forth a statement of his own beliefs, and the Synod of 1879 declared him no longer a minister of the United Presbyterian Church. In that same year, he formed a congregation in Dundee, over which, as an unattached or independent society, under the name of the Gilfillan Memorial Church, he presided for twenty years.

Complaint had often been made of the baldness and formlessness of the service as ordinarily conducted in the presbyterian churches. And this complaint was given expression to by people of taste and culture who, without becoming in the least degree disloyal to their presbyterian traditions, had been attracted by the seemliness and solemnity of certain of the services used in churches which had adopted a liturgy or a Book of Common Order. Many regretted the want of recognised forms of service for baptisms, marriages, funerals, and many also felt that even in regard to public prayer some assistance and guidance might be given to ministers in the shape of models to be imitated, if not of prescribed forms which they might use. Undoubtedly in all the churches such feelings were spreading more or less extensively among the members, and it began to be thought by many of the ministers that some of the secessions to episcopacy were due, not to a mere contemptible aping of English customs and ways, still less to any preference for the episcopal form of church government, but rather to disappointment at the refusal of the presbyterian churches to take any step toward the improvement of the church services.

It was in the Church of Scotland that the first movement was made in the direction of such reforms, and the initiative was taken by Mr. Robert Lee of Old Greyfriars,

Edinburgh. Dr. Lee was born at Tweedmouth in 1804, and after studying at St. Andrews University was licensed in 1832. He was minister successively in Arbroath and Campsie, and was called to Greyfriars in August, 1843, the church in which in 1638 the National Covenant was signed. In 1844 he published a translation of *The Theses of Erastus touching Excommunication*, for the purpose of showing that Erastus pleads that excommunication or punishment should be by civil and not by ecclesiastical bodies. In 1847 he was appointed professor of Biblical Criticism, the chair to which Dr. Candlish had been nominated in 1841. On the restoration of Old Greyfriars in 1887, after it had been long closed in consequence of a destructive fire, he began to give very careful attention to the study of the services in public worship. He asked his congregation to kneel at prayer and to stand at singing, and read his prayers from a book prepared by himself. In consequence of these proceedings, he was dealt with by the presbytery of Edinburgh in 1859, and was found by a majority to be guilty of introducing innovations. On appealing to the General Assembly of that same year, he obtained a substantially favourable verdict by a majority of 140 to 110, requiring him, however, to discontinue the reading of his prayers from a book. After this he discontinued the use of the book, but read his prayers from a manuscript. In 1864 he published *The Reform of the Church in Worship, Government, and Doctrine: Part I., Worship*; in which he gave a systematic statement of his views on the liturgical question. The Assemblies of 1865 and 1866 were more or less hostile. The Assembly of 1867 were prepared once more to take up the case, but on the 22nd May, the day before the meeting of the Supreme Court, Dr. Lee on returning from a ride into the country, was seen to fall from his horse. The illness that ensued at once put an end to all intended proceedings. Dr. Lee never rallied from the attack, or at least was never after able for any work. He died on the 14th of March, 1868.*

* Story, *Life and Remains of Dr. Lee, D.D.*, London, 1870, 2 vols.

A number of the clergymen of the Church of Scotland usually regarded as High Churchmen, with whom were associated some Broad Churchmen like Dr. Tulloch and Dr. Story, formed in 1867 "The Church Service Society." Dr. Lee himself looked rather askance at this society, for though its work was somewhat on the lines of his reforms, his liturgy was not accepted, because of a certain suspicion of Socinianism which hung over him, and because his interest had been in what is æsthetic rather than in what the society regarded as part of their Catholic inheritance. Its first important work was the publication of the *Euchologion*, a book of prayers. According to the constitution of this society, it sought to promote the study of ancient liturgies and the preparing of Offices for Public Worship. Professor Cooper of Glasgow and Dr. John Macleod of Govan have taken a prominent part in seeking to introduce forms of service which they regard as modelled on the practice of the early church, and a high doctrine of the church and sacraments, which by many is regarded with a considerable amount of suspicion. Although this movement has never received formal sanction from the General Assembly, it has spread very widely in the ranks of the ministers of the Church of Scotland, and has influenced to a great extent the services and teaching of the church.

At a conference of ministers and elders belonging to the Free Church held in Edinburgh in 1891, it was resolved to form a society under the title of "The Free Church Public Worship Association." The aim of this Association was to draw attention to the importance of the subject of the Public Worship of the Church, and on presbyterian lines and on the basis of materials supplied by early Christian liturgies and service books of the Reformation, to provide models for the guidance of ministers in the conducting of the devotional part of the public services of the church, and forms that might be used or imitated in the administration of the sacraments and in the performing of marriage and burial services. After several years' labour this Association issued in 1898 *A new Directory for the Public Worship of*

God, which has already passed through three editions, and has done much toward securing a more seemly and consistent order of service in the Free Church congregations throughout the length and breadth of the land.*

“The Devotional Service Association” of the United Presbyterian Church was formed in 1883, as the result of a Conference held in the previous year, and in 1891 it issued *Presbyterian Forms of Service*, of which a third improved edition was published in 1899. This volume consists mainly of specimen services as distinguished from the previously-mentioned work of the Free Church Association, which is largely a collection of materials for devotional use.

An arrangement has now been made for the combination of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Associations to be called the Worship Association of the United Free Church of Scotland. Attention is being given to the preparation of a book of Children’s Services for Church and Sabbath School, and in all probability by and by a Revised Directory may be drafted which will take the place of the books which the two Associations separately have issued.

The general use of hymns in public worship in the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland is of very recent date. So far back indeed as 1575 a small collection of five spiritual songs was made, increased in subsequent years to ten, and and afterwards to fourteen; but these received no ecclesiastical sanction, and were not even put in the Psalter of 1650, nor were they included among the Paraphrases of 1741 and 1781. In the earlier years of the nineteenth century several proposals were made for the preparation of a collection of spiritual hymns for use in public worship. Nothing, however, came of these proposals, until in 1852 a committee was nominated by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, to prepare a collection of hymns. The draft which this committee presented to the Assembly was not approved, and another committee was appointed in 1855,

* M’Crie, *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland*, Edin. 1892, pp. 351-353.

which at last, in 1861, drew up a collection of 89 hymns and 32 other pieces, which was adopted and sanctioned for use in the church. It soon became evident that a larger and more varied selection was desirable, and in 1866 a new committee was formed which issued in 1870 the *Scottish Hymnal*, containing 200 hymns. An enlarged and improved edition was issued in 1884, containing 358 hymns, besides an appendix of 86 hymns for children, a collection admirably selected and excellently arranged.

In the General Assembly of the Free Church discussions were carried on from 1866 till 1869 as to the necessity and advantage of having a book of praise supplementary to the metrical Psalms, and in 1870 a committee was appointed, which in 1873 issued a collection consisting of 123 hymns, besides Psalm versions and a selection from the Paraphrases. This book was soon found to be much too meagre, and in 1878 a new committee was formed, which in 1882 issued *The Free Church Hymn-book*, containing 387 hymns. This collection owes much of its excellence to the musical taste and devotional genius of the late Dr. Bruce of Glasgow, and also to the Rev. James Bonar, whose singularly wide knowledge of hymns and hymn-writers was of the utmost service to the committee.

In the Relief Church a collection of 231 Hymns and Paraphrases was sanctioned in 1794. A new selection, remarkably good for its time, was adopted and issued in 1833. After the union of the Secession and Relief Churches in 1847 a committee was appointed, charged with the task of preparing a book of praise. This committee submitted a draft collection which was accepted and issued with the approbation of the Synod in 1852 as the Hymn-book of the United Presbyterian Church, containing 468 hymns and 23 doxologies. Many of the hymns in this book never became popular and objections were raised to several unwarrantable changes that had been made in the text of some of the hymns. Consequently a revision committee was appointed in 1870, and in 1876 *The Presbyterian Hymnal* was prepared and issued by the authority of the church.

It was now being felt by many throughout all the Presbyterian churches that any further revision of their hymn-books should, if possible, be done in common by them all, so as to secure one book of praise for the congregations of the several churches. In 1892 a joint committee was appointed, consisting of seven representatives from the Church of Scotland, the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church respectively. In 1894 this committee, with which representatives of the Irish Presbyterian Church had meanwhile been associated, and which had received communications from the Canadian Presbyterian Church, had prepared a draft copy of their proposed hymnal, The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in 1896, by a majority, resolved to retire from the committee, but the General Assembly of 1897 reversed this resolution and determined to resume their position on the joint committee. After some further consultation and modification of the draft or proof copy, the work was produced and received the approbation of the several churches for publication in 1898. In order to avoid the use of any name previously appropriated by any such manual of praise, the committee adopted for their book the somewhat unusual name of *The Church Hymnary*. It consists of 649 pieces, of which 92 are hymns for the young. The book has already been introduced in a large number of the congregations of the several Presbyterian churches immediately concerned in its production, and it is expected that it will also be widely used in the Presbyterian churches of the Colonies. It has been very generally approved, in respect of the selection of hymns and of its musical setting, as one of the best hymnals in the English language.

Besides the three great Presbyterian denominations, which bulk so largely in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, there were two Congregational or Independent Churches, the Congregational Union and the Evangelical Union, both of which had played an important part in the spiritual development of the people. The Congregational Union, especially since the time of the Haldanes, had done noble work in

many parts of the land in preserving and advancing the warmth and vigour of Christian life. The members of the Evangelical Union Church, brought into existence by the movement of James Morison in 1843, had taken a permanent place among the social and religious reformers of the age, and had distinguished themselves particularly by their zeal in promoting evangelistic work and in pressing upon the notice of the public the need for temperance legislation and reform. So long ago as in 1876, attention was called to the possibility and duty of union between these two bodies by Dr. William Pulsford of Glasgow, one of the most distinguished ministers of the Congregational Union, and in 1877 the Congregational Union sent a delegate to the meetings of the Evangelical Union, and in 1878 the brethren of the Evangelical Union reciprocated the courtesy. But for many years no regularly organised attempt was made to give effect to these general indications of sympathy and spiritual relationship. It was felt, however, by many that there was no reason why two bodies so closely related should remain apart. Their systems of church policy were practically the same, and it did not appear as if there was any essential difference between them in regard to doctrinal belief. A joint committee of both denominations was formed in 1886, but answers to queries made it appear that further information by the people was needed before the churches would be ready to take any definite step. In 1892 a joint committee was appointed to consider the subject of union and to report. This committee prepared an Explanatory Statement of facts bearing on the proposed union, which was considered by the congregations of the two churches. After considerable discussion in the Conferences of both churches held in Glasgow in September and in October, 1896, the motion for union was carried, in the Evangelical Union Conference by 140 to 14, and in the Congregational Union Conference by 93 to 17. A joint meeting of the pastors and delegates of the Congregational and Evangelical Unions was held in Glasgow on 1st October, 1896, at which the union agreed to by the two denominations separately was formally declared

as taking effect on 1st January, 1897. It was also resolved that the name of the united church should be *The Congregational Union of Scotland*, comprising the Evangelical Union and the Congregational Union as existing at 1896. The united church comprises over one hundred and eighty congregations, arranged under ten mission districts. Each congregation is thoroughly independent in regard to the management of its internal affairs, and the churches entering the union are not required to subscribe any formal creed. To the Constitution agreed upon by the Union, a prefatory note is attached which declares that this union is sought in the belief that they agree in holding as the ground and condition of church membership confession of personal faith in Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord, in the desire to hold fellowship with one another in the worship and service of God, and in order to effective co-operation in extending the kingdom of God and proclaiming the gospel of Jesus Christ, through whose person and work in God Incarnate, and the saving and sanctifying grace of God the Holy Spirit, God the Father, in his love, has made provision for, and is seeking the salvation of all men.

From about the middle of the century all the churches began more vigorously than ever before to prosecute Home Mission or directly aggressive work, especially among the crowded masses of our large cities. Specially notable was the work accomplished by the Free Church Missions in Glasgow and Edinburgh in the Wynds and Fountainbridge, and from 1854 onward very remarkable success attended the effort to reach the sunken and hitherto largely neglected denizens of the squalid lanes and closes. A similar activity soon spread among the other denominations, and Christian workers other than ministers began to give evangelistic addresses, and to interest themselves in various forms of Christian service. The state of the religious community was thus very different from that of 1839, when in 1859 the revival and the revival spirit took possession of the churches and of the people at large. It has been remarked by many that in the earlier period, during the revival under William

Burns and M'Cheyne, the work was done exclusively by ministers, and even afterwards, Christian laymen of the most devoted character, and endowed with admirable qualifications as speakers, never seemed to think of giving themselves to evangelistic work in organising or addressing religious meetings. But when in 1859 the influence of that religious revival which had been experienced so fully in America and in Ireland, came to be felt in Scotland, there were already in all our cities, and also in many country districts, gifted men in all ranks of society able and willing to take their full share in proclaiming the gospel message of salvation. One prominent labourer in this field, one of the pioneers in this sort of work, was Brownlow North. Converted in 1854, he began at once to make known to others the truth by which he himself had been blessed. He was recognised in 1859 by the General Assembly of the Free Church as a lay evangelist, and was solemnly consecrated and set apart to this work by the approbation and imprimatur of the church.

The spiritual work which began in 1859, and which continued to occupy a prominent place in the view of the country during the years immediately following, spread over the whole extent of Scotland, and in almost every part of the country there are still to be found fruits of the great awakening. It affected all ranks and classes of men. Ministers of all the churches, many of whom had previously gone to Ireland to see for themselves the work of which they had heard, were mightily quickened and greatly stirred. Men of culture in the various learned professions, and educated men in businesses of all kinds came under the influence of the truth, and became zealous preachers of the gospel of Christ. A very remarkable work of grace was carried on among the fishing populations of the East Coast villages, by means of which the life and character of whole communities, especially along the Firth of Forth and along the Moray Firth, were completely revolutionised.

From time to time there were religious movements in various parts of the country. The next widespread revival movement, however, affecting the whole land, owed its

initiation and chief impetus to the visit of Messrs. Moody and Sankey from America in 1873. These devoted and eminently successful evangelists came to Edinburgh in November of that year, and afterwards proceeded to Glasgow, in which important centres their operations, extending over a period of nine months, were chiefly carried on. They had associated with them, on the platform and in the enquiry room, ministers of all the protestant churches, and a very rich spiritual blessing followed their labours in the cities both among church-goers and non-church-goers. Large additions were made to the membership of all Christian denominations, and many of the most reliable and steadfast supporters of church and religion in Scotland at the present time, look back to this movement as the occasion of their first decision for Christ and interest in His cause. After the departure of Mr. Moody, the work was continued effectively by willing and capable workers, and much spiritual quickening followed in other towns and throughout the country. The second visit of the American evangelists in 1881 was especially fruitful in Glasgow. A third visit was paid to Scotland in 1890, but on this occasion, avoiding the large cities, the evangelists went up and down through the smaller towns and villages. The time spent in each place was too short to awaken any very deep interest in the work, and so its effect seems to have been comparatively small.

Among the distinguished and effective workers whom Moody influenced, and who were led by him to devote their energies mainly to evangelistic work, Henry Drummond is deserving of special mention. Known to many only as the writer of religio-scientific works, the science and the theology of which are both now regarded as more than questionable, he was for years associated with Moody as a fellow worker and as continuer of his work. Partly by his wonderfully attractive personality, and partly by the fresh, natural and manly way in which he presented the truth, he obtained an access to young men, especially to university students, which was almost, if not altogether, unprecedented. Appointed in 1889 to the chair of Natural Science in the Free Church

College of Glasgow, he published in 1883, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, a work founded on religious addresses which he had delivered. It obtained quite a phenomenal popularity, so that in a few years it passed through over thirty large editions. His most ambitious scientific work was his Lowell Lectures delivered in America, *The Ascent of Man*, published in 1894. As a religious teacher his booklets, *The Greatest Thing in the World* (1869), on the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, and *Pax Vobiscum* (1891), with a considerable number of other little treatises, were very widely read, and created a great interest in religious thinking and reflection, especially among the fairly educated and cultured youth. He was with Moody in America in 1893, who, notwithstanding serious differences in their way of viewing important truths, welcomed him warmly as a trusted helper in the work. His early death in 1896, after a long and very painful illness, was mourned over by large numbers in Scotland, England and America, who had received spiritual quickening from his addresses and writings.

In May, 1893, the jubilee of the Free Church of Scotland was celebrated at the meeting of the Assembly of that year. Honour was done to Dr. Walter C. Smith by calling him to occupy the chair on that interesting occasion. Deputations were received and communications read from many Foreign and Colonial churches, and representatives were present from the Presbyterian churches of Scotland, England, Ireland and Wales. The Moderator, who had been ordained a minister of the Free Church in 1850, shed lustre on the Assembly as an ornament of his church, distinguished not only as an eloquent and spiritual preacher, but as a poet, and a man of fine spirit and generous sympathies. He is well known far beyond the bounds of Scotland by his poems, *The Bishop's Walk*, *Obrig Grange*, *Borland Hall*, *Hilda*, *Raban*, *A Heretic and other Poems*, etc. Those in charge of the various schemes of the church were able to show a really splendid development and growth in all directions during those fifty years, and this review of work accomplished has afforded

encouragement and a healthy stimulus during the years that followed.

Throughout the last twenty years in all the Scottish churches remarkable success has attended the organizing of Christian work in congregations in all its various departments. This has been in large measure secured by the formation of guilds in which the members and adherents of the churches, especially the young men and the young women, are banded together by means of a common consecration to work for the advancement of the spiritual and moral life of the community.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1881 resolved that a Young Men's Guild should be constituted under its sanction, and that its management should be entrusted to its Committee on Life and Work. The aim of the Guild is the formation in every parish, under the control of the minister and session, of a society of young men as a centre of attraction to young men in the parish, and a means of mutual improvement and healthful stimulus. All local church societies are brought into touch with one another by being recognised as integral parts of the great comprehensive union of workers throughout the church. By means of a system of intercommunication young men who leave one district for another are cared for and receive a brotherly welcome and companionship in their new home. The progress made during the nineteen years of its existence has been very remarkable. At the first Conference of the Guild in Edinburgh in 1882, it was found that there were sixty-seven branches with about two thousand members. At the nineteenth annual Conference held in Dumbarton in October, 1900, it was reported that there were six hundred and three branches, with nearly twenty-seven thousand members. The practical work accomplished by members of the Guild is of the varied character. District and hospital visitation, the conducting of children's churches, boys' brigades, parish libraries and banks, originating and carrying on temperance organizations, distribution of tracts, assisting at missionary services and prayer meetings, engag-

ing in Sunday school work—in all these departments the Guild has done great service in town and country throughout the land. The societies under the Guild consist of Bible classes, fellowship meetings, and literary associations, while the Guild Missionary Council maintains a prosperous mission in India under two ordained missionaries and a medical missionary, supported by an efficient staff of native workers.

An important service has been rendered by the Guild through the publication of a series of text books, and the conducting of examinations on their contents. These text books, edited by Professor Charteris and Dr. M'Clymont of Aberdeen, most of them issued in a shorter and larger form, and written by many of the most distinguished ministers of the Church of Scotland, have been very widely used, and are in quality and style of a very superior order. The study of such manuals by the youth of the church cannot fail in producing the best results.

In 1888 the Women's Guild in connection with the Church of Scotland was formed, with the object of consolidating and developing the work which women can best forward in connection with the church in the several departments of religious and social activity. At the first annual conference in 1888 it was reported that there were then thirty-two branches, with a membership of two thousand; and in 1900 it was shown that there were five hundred and twenty-nine branches with over thirty-six thousand members.

In the Free Church an important movement was inaugurated in 1878 when Dr. Alexander Whyte, of Free St. George's, Edinburgh, laid before the Assembly the scheme which had been under consideration for some years, and is known as the *Welfare of Youth Scheme*. A series of Handbooks, biblical and theological, was issued under the editorship of Dr. Whyte and Dr. Marcus Dods, and afterwards a set of Primers on similar subjects, edited by Principal Salmond of Aberdeen. These Primers have been very largely used as text books in Bible classes formed in most of the congregations of the Free Church. Members of these

classes were examined by means of sets of questions on the various subjects prescribed each year, and medals, prizes, and certificates were awarded according to the marks gained by the several candidates. This scheme was from the first eminently successful in affording a stimulus to biblical and doctrinal study in Bible classes and among private students. It was not, however, till 1885 that a proposal was made in the Free Church Assembly to establish a Free Church of Scotland Guild, which, in a way somewhat similar to that of the Church of Scotland Guild, should combine existing agencies, and promote further organizations for the religious and social well-being of the youth of the church.

When the negotiations for union between the Free and United Presbyterian Churches were dropped in 1873, the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church put on record a declaration of its continued readiness to enter into union with the Free Church on the ground of their common standards, and its unabated desire for such union. And so, when in 1895 the Free Church reopened the question of union by proposing the appointment of committees of both churches for conference with regard to co-operation, the United Presbyterian Synod of 1896 gave a hearty and immediate response, approving of present co-operation, and expressing a conviction that the time had come when steps should be taken for bringing about an incorporating union of the churches. After the two committees had considered the subject, and had interchanged opinions and information, the Free Church Assembly of 1897 formally agreed to confer upon the practical questions involved in union on the basis of the standards. The committees having been re-appointed, they held their meetings generally as a joint committee, and were able to report to the superior courts of their respective churches that in regard to doctrine, government, discipline, and worship the two churches were in thorough agreement with one another. In consequence of this report, which was the unanimous deliverance of a large and thoroughly representative committee, consisting of about one hundred and fifty members, the General

Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland and the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of 1898, agreed to remit the report to presbyteries and, in the case of the United Presbyterian Church, to sessions, that they might express approval or disapproval, and make suggestions. An Explanatory Statement was also issued by the Free Church committee, in which it was shown that in the United Church the present standards would be accepted by each member in the sense in which he had accepted them previous to the union, and that no change of principles would be required of any one. The returns given in to the Synod and Assembly of 1899 showed that all the sessions, as well as the presbyteries, of the United Presbyterian Church had reported either wholly or conditionally in favour of union, and that of the seventy-five Free Church presbyteries, seventy-one were in favour and four were against union. In several of the presbyteries, however, there was an anti-union minority. On 31st May, 1900, the General Assembly of the Free Church declared in favour of union by a majority of five hundred and ninety-two against twenty-nine, and it was therefore resolved to send down the terms of the uniting act in the form of an Overture to presbyteries, whose answers would come before a special Assembly which, at the closing diet, was appointed to meet on the 30th of October.

On the day appointed, the General Assembly of the Free Church met, with Dr. Ross Taylor of Glasgow as Moderator, and the Uniting Act was finally adopted, a small minority of ministers and elders protesting. Arrangements had previously been made, and a large hall had been fitted up in the Waverley Market, to which, in the forenoon of Wednesday, the 31st October, 1900, the members of the Free Church Assembly, who had mustered in front of the Free Assembly Hall, and the members of the United Presbyterian Synod, who had been marshalled in the Synod Hall, marched in order, and in which they took their places together. The Uniting Act was read, and Dr. Ross Taylor, Moderator of the Free Church Assembly, and Dr.

Alexander Mair, Moderator of the United Presbyterian Synod, gave each other, on behalf of their respective churches, the right hand of fellowship, and the two churches had become one, under the name of the United Free Church of Scotland. The Rev. Robert Rainy, D.D., Principal of the Free Church College, Edinburgh, and long the distinguished leader of the Free Church, was unanimously and by acclamation appointed Moderator of the first Assembly of the United Church. To Dr. Rainy certainly more than to any other the union of these two churches owes its happy consummation. In the United Church as now constituted there are eleven synods, sixty-five presbyteries, and about sixteen hundred and fifty congregations.

At the time when the union was being carried out, the Free Church Minority met in a hall, appointed a Moderator, and proceeded with the work of an Assembly, claiming to be the true Free Church of Scotland. An action on their part is pending in the Court of Session, in which they lay claim to the property of the Free Church, and in a few cases churches are still occupied by ministers and their adherents who have refused to join the union. Their doctrinal and ecclesiastical position is in every respect similar to that of those Secessionists who broke off from the Free Church on the occasion of its adopting the Declaratory Act, and most of those composing it ought in consistency to have gone out with that secession. They are entirely out of touch with all the religious and intellectual tendencies of the age.

Many of those who have most heartily rejoiced in the union of those two important branches of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland regard what has been accomplished as merely a step toward a still more comprehensive union. Not only in the United Free Church, but also in the Established Church of Scotland, there is a widespread desire to see a union effected between the two churches which now stand side by side, so nearly equal to one another in numbers and resources. Since the Disruption of 1843, many of the reforms for which those who left the National Church con-

tended, have been conceded by the legislature. The mother church, out of which all the several components of the United Church originally sprang, is not only the same with her children in doctrine, government, discipline and worship, but also like them in large measure she depends upon the free-will offerings of her people. The only serious difference between them consists in her exclusive possession of certain endowments secured to her by legislative enactments, and a consequent special recognition of her status and jurisdiction by the state. For the present it would seem as if these differences constituted a serious, some would say an insuperable, bar to union. The leaders of the United Church and majorities in that church say that as at present advised they cannot see how such a union is practicable except on the basis of the disestablishment of the Established Church; and although no disestablishment committee has yet been appointed in the United Church, yet up to the eve of the union the demand for disestablishment was distinctly made by both of the churches now united into one. On the other hand, all the leaders of the Established Church, even those most favourable to the idea of union, have distinctly said that they can never entertain the thought of relinquishing what they have always regarded as their rightful heritage. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland has formally declared to all the Scottish Presbyterian churches her "heartly willingness and desire to take all possible steps, consistent with the maintenance of an establishment of religion, to promote the union of such churches." How this difficulty is to be overcome does not yet seem very clear. It may be that a wave of spiritual revival spreading over the land, bringing higher realities into fuller prominence and revealing more clearly what are the purely spiritual and religious purposes which all ecclesiastical organizations ought to serve, will bring men in both churches to see, as at present they do not see, that in all things essential they are one, and that this essential oneness will allow, or rather compel them, by mutual concessions that involve no dishonourable compromises, to repudiate and forget accidental and traditional differences.

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